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MODELS OF PENTECOSTAL HEALING AND PRACTICE IN LIGHT OF
EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY PENTECOSTALISM

by

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Kimberly Ervin Alexander

Abstract

This thesis offers an examination of healing theology and practice as found in early North American Pentecostalism.

The thesis begins with a brief survey of recent scholarship and research on the subject of healing in America, establishing that little attention has been given to the theology and practice of the early Pentecostal movement.

The first major section of the thesis is devoted to an examination of the Divine Healing Movement of the nineteenth century, providing the historical and theological background of the Pentecostal Movement's healing theology and practice. By examining the writings of five major practitioners of the movement (including A. B. Simpson, Andrew Murray and Carrie Judd Montgomery), a nineteenth-century theology of "divine healing provided in the atonement" is articulated.

A major portion of the thesis is devoted to an analysis of healing theology and practice in early North American Pentecostalism. An inductive approach is employed, examining the earliest (1906 to 1923) periodical literature of the movement, and where that is not available examining other extant materials, such as sermons, songs and tracts. This portion of the study consists of two major parts: Wesleyan-Pentecostalism and Finished Work Pentecostalism. The result of this examination is the identification of two distinct healing theologies and the attendant practices, which are consistent with each group's distinct soteriological characteristics.

A models approach is then employed by which, out of the materials previously examined, these two distinct theologies of healing are constructed. A case study of Pentecostal responses to the 1918 Influenza Epidemic serves both to illustrate and test the two models of healing.

A final chapter summarizes conclusions including contributions, clarifications, and implications of the research for further Pentecostal studies as well as a theological reflection on the findings.

Abbreviations

<i>AF</i>	<i>The Apostolic Faith</i>
<i>TBM</i>	<i>The Bridegroom's Messenger</i>
<i>CE</i>	<i>The Christian Evangel</i>
<i>ChrH</i>	<i>Christian History</i>
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
<i>COGE</i>	<i>The Church of God Evangel</i>
<i>DPCM</i>	<i>Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements</i>
<i>JAH</i>	<i>Journal of American History</i>
<i>JPT</i>	<i>Journal of Pentecostal Theology</i>
<i>LH</i>	<i>Leaves of Healing</i>
<i>PE</i>	<i>The Pentecostal Evangel</i>
<i>PHA</i>	<i>The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate</i>
<i>PT</i>	<i>Pentecostal Testimony</i>
<i>TOF</i>	<i>Triumphs of Faith</i>
<i>WE</i>	<i>The Weekly Evangel</i>
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Wesleyan Theological Journal</i>
<i>TWT</i>	<i>The Whole Truth</i>
<i>WW</i>	<i>Word and Witness</i>

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The blessings and encouragement of many, both before and during the process, have made this work possible. Scholars and preachers in the Pentecostal tradition have sown seeds which are now coming to fruition in my work.

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deliverance, his diligence in study and service and his powerful preaching have inspired me and blessed me for all the years I've known him. As we've ministered together, we've come to *own* the faith of our fathers and mothers. He is truly my co-laborer, my dialogue partner and "my love." With gratitude, to Corky, Hope, Emma and Leslie, I dedicate this work.

*"For the promise is for you, for your children, and for all who are far away,
everyone whom the Lord our God calls to him."*

Acts 2.39

(NRSV)

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

Healing in the Pentecostal Context

One of the salient features of Pentecostalism is its emphasis on healing of the sick.¹ Indeed, most portrayals of Pentecostals, especially those in the worlds of literature, drama and film will most often paint the picture of the Pentecostal healing minister.² Through the medium of television, Pentecostal healing ministries have been brought into the homes of millions of Americans. Occasionally, on the American terrain, one still sees a tent pitched on the outskirts of town, where the revivalistic atmosphere builds to a crescendo which often results in a prayer line for the healing of the sick.³ And in many American communities, a Pentecostal church is the destination of one wanting to receive prayer for healing.⁴ While it may be available at a growing number of mainline or liturgical churches, a person would know that type of prayer could be received at a Pentecostal church.

From its inception, the Pentecostal movement has preached a gospel which includes healing for the whole person. Healing miracles were expected and the demonstrations of God's power to heal became the

¹ See Donald Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1987), p. 115. Dayton argues, "Perhaps even more characteristic of Pentecostalism than the doctrine of the baptism of the Spirit is its celebration of miracles of divine healing as part of God's salvation and as evidence of divine power in the church."

² For instance, *Elmer Gantry*, Sinclair Lewis' thinly cloaked picture of Pentecostal Aimee Semple McPherson, shows "Sister" involved in the healing ministry. This was also portrayed in the film version of the movie. This was of course the idea behind the comedy, *Leap of Faith* and in recent television programs, such as *The X Files*. The film which most accurately depicts American Southern Pentecostalism, *The Apostle*, interestingly does not emphasize the healing role of the evangelist, though the belief and practice is certainly understood as a part of the Pentecostal community in the film.

³ See David E. Harrell, *All Things Are Possible: The Healing and Charismatic Revivals in Modern America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1975) for a study of the itinerant healing evangelists. See also Stephen J. Pullum, *"Foul Demons, Come Out!"--The Rhetoric of Twentieth-Century American Faith Healing* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999) for a more recent treatment of these evangelists and their healing rhetoric.

⁴ One student of Pentecostalism observes that he has come to expect "a period of intense prayers for healing" as part of the pattern of Pentecostal worship services. Cf. Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the 21st Century* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1995), p. 6.

“drawing cards” for many missionary and evangelistic efforts.⁵ The testimonies which arose in the Pentecostal community, and circulated in the wider geographic community, were in most cases the “word of mouth” advertising which was utilized by the growing movement. In fact, these healing miracle stories were a major reason for the explosion of the movement.

While belief in healing is actually one of the doctrines which connects Pentecostalism to historical Christianity, in modernity,⁶ healing became one of the doctrines which *divided* the movement from the mainstream, where skepticism demanded scientific proofs and verifiability. Pentecostals, for the most part, did not think in those terms and saw no reason to offer such proof.⁷ In postmodernity,⁸ however, it is possible that healing practices may once again be the theme which brings Pentecostals to the table, or to the festival, as it has been described.⁹

In light of the above considerations, and in light of the fact that little effort has been made to research specifically what early Pentecostals believed, taught and practiced with regard to healing, it seems that a thorough investigation is in order. This study will attempt to carry out that investigation.

⁵ See Gary B. McGee, “Pentecostal Strategies for Global Mission: A Historical Assessment”, *Called and Empowered: Global Mission in Pentecostal Perspective* (Murray A. Dempster, Byron D. Klaus, and Douglas Petersen, ed.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991), pp. 203-224 and L. Grant McClung, Jr., ed., *Azusa Street and Beyond: Pentecostal Missions and Church Growth in the Twentieth Century* (South Plainfield, NJ: Bridge Publishing, Inc., 1986.)

⁶ Donald K. McKim defines modernity as “the post-Enlightenment period in Europe and North America in which people turned to a scientific culture and its promises in order to fill a void left by a decline in religion.” Donald K. McKim, *Westminster Dictionary of Theological Terms* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1996), p. 176.

⁷ See Ronald A. N. Kydd, *Healing Through the Centuries: Models for Understanding* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Press, 1998). Kydd delineates various models of healing theology and practice dating from antiquity to the present. See also my review of this work in *JPT* 16 (April 2000), pp. 117-127. Here I argue that verifiability, which Kydd calls for, would have been impossible and unthinkable in the early years of the movement because of the way Pentecostals generally distrusted doctors and medicine.

⁸ McKim defines postmodernism as being “marked by rejection of ‘objective truth,’ the powers of reason and claims of universality. Texts and symbols are emphasized together with a corporate understanding of truth that is relative to each community in which one participates.” McKim, *Westminster Dictionary of Theological Terms*, p. 214. Cf. also Stanley Grenz, *Revisioning Evangelical Theology: A Fresh Agenda for the 21st Century* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1993) and Henry H. Knight, III, *A Future for Truth: Evangelical Theology in a Postmodern World* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1997).

⁹ See Cheryl Bridges Johns, “Partners in Scandal” *Wesleyan and Pentecostal Scholarship*, *Pneuma* 21:2 (Fall 1999), pp. 183-197. See also Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven*.

Survey of Recent Scholarship

The majority of scholarly work which has been undertaken on the subject of healing in America has focused more on the historical development of the movement. Raymond Cunningham, in an unpublished work, has discussed many of the leaders of the nineteenth century American Divine Healing Movement in a chapter of his thesis which examines the movement's influence in the development of psychotherapeutic ministry of Christian churches in America.¹⁰ Of interest in Cunningham's thesis is his exposition of the parallel rise of the healing theology within Holiness circles and the rise of Christian Science. Both of these movements have strong ties to the Boston, Massachusetts area and were developing at around the same time.

Paul Chappell's research, another unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, provides a careful look at the earliest leaders in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century.¹¹ He examines early healing practices in America, including those of George Fox and the Quakers, Mother Ann Lee and the Shakers, John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Community and Ellen G. White and the Adventists. Chappell also acknowledges the European influences which came through Edward Irving, Johann Blumhardt, Dorothea Trudel, Samuel Zeller and Otto Stockmayer. The bulk of his research centers around the pioneers of the movement: Ethan O. Allen, Elizabeth and Edward Mix, Charles Cullis, William Boardman, A. J. Gordon, Andrew Murray, A. B. Simpson and Carrie Judd Montgomery. Chappell also examines Alexander Dowie, whose healing ministry did not fit within what is commonly understood to be the nineteenth century movement. Finally, he looks at the healing practices of Pentecostal forerunner Charles F. Parham. By and large, his work is a historical survey, noting the role of publishing, healing practices and the rise of the healing home.

Chappell's research has informed his article on the healing movement which is to be found in the *Dictionary of Pentecostal Charismatic Movements*.¹² Here, Chappell expands his former work to include the Pentecostal healing movement, especially that of the mid-twentieth century

¹⁰ Raymond Joseph Cunningham, *Ministry of Healing: The Origins of the Psychotherapeutic Role of the American Churches* (Ph.D. 1965, Johns Hopkins University).

¹¹ Paul Gale Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America* (Ph.D. diss. Drew University, 1983).

¹² Paul Gale Chappell, "Healing Movements" in Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee, eds., *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988), pp. 353-374.

and the later Charismatic and Third Wave Movements.

Don Dayton, too examines the contributions of the nineteenth century healing movement in his *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, seeing the movement as a significant source in the theological development of Pentecostal theology.¹³

Grant Wacker's very helpful examination of healing in the Pentecostal tradition, found in *Caring and Curing: Health and Medicine in the Western Religious Traditions*, offers a thoughtful analysis of the practice of healing in Pentecostalism. Wacker rightly sees an examination of Pentecostal healing "as a portrayal of the social and cultural history of Pentecostalism itself."¹⁴ The chapter is primarily a socio-historical examination of the practices of early Pentecostals with regard to healing. In this examination, Wacker sees Pentecostalism as the offspring of the nineteenth century "radical evangelical" movement. His brief look at Primitive Pentecostalism in the period from 1900 to 1930, though incisive, falls prey too easily to the tendency to see Pentecostalism as a monolithic whole, missing the soteriological distinctions of the two streams. Wacker goes on to examine the evolution of healing in Pentecostalism throughout the twentieth century.

There have been other more recent contributions. Faupel looks at healing doctrine and practice in the genealogy of the Pentecostal movement¹⁵ and Land briefly explores healing as a component of the Five-fold Gospel.¹⁶ Henry Knight's constructive piece, in which he places prominent healing evangelists on a continuum between emphasis on the freedom of God ("to choose how and when and whether to act") and faithfulness of God (to fulfill his promise to heal) has been extremely helpful, though he does examine the earlier figures.¹⁷

Ronald Kydd in *Healing Through the Centuries* describes the healing

¹³ Donald Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Press, 1987).

¹⁴ Grant Wacker, "The Pentecostal Tradition" in Ronald L. Numbers and Darrel W. Amundsen, eds., *Caring and Curing: Health and Medicine in the Western Religious Traditions* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, Inc., 1986), pp. 514-538. See also Wacker's more recent work *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001) which examines other aspects of Pentecostalism utilizing the same methodology.

¹⁵ William David Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel* JPTS 10 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

¹⁶ Steven J. Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom* JPTS 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993).

¹⁷ Henry H. Knight, "God's Faithfulness and God's Freedom: A Comparison of Contemporary Theologies of Healing," *JPT* 2 (April 1993), pp. 65-89. For this quote see p. 65.

models of some of the European influences on the movement, namely Blumhardt and Trudel, as well as later Pentecostals, William Branham and Oral Roberts. However, he gives no attention to the healing theology or practices of either the nineteenth century American healing movement or of the early Pentecostal movement in America. Likewise, David Harrell gives no attention to the early movement, focusing instead on the mid-twentieth century Pentecostal healing evangelists.¹⁸

There has been a recent resurgence of interest in one of the earliest Pentecostal healing evangelists, Aimee Semple McPherson. Pullum examines the healing rhetoric of Aimee Semple McPherson in his catalog of American healing evangelists, but gives no attention to her healing theology as such.¹⁹ Recent biographies of McPherson are helpful with regard to her own understanding of healing and the Foursquare Gospel. However, these biographies mainly focus on the details of her enterprising and sometimes flamboyant ministry and life in the public eye.²⁰

What is missing from the field, as is obvious from this survey, is a focused examination of the healing theology and practice of the early Pentecostal movement itself.

Purpose and Focus of this Study

The purpose of this study is to examine what the earliest adherents of the Pentecostal revival movement actually believed and practiced. Several presuppositions have guided this study:

1. The earliest years, the first decade, of the Pentecostal movement represent its heart and not its infancy. That is to say, the spirituality of this period should be viewed as the essence or core of the movement's spirituality rather than seen as "not yet fully developed".²¹ Therefore, an examination of the earliest available material will reveal the substance of what was believed and practiced with regard to healing and an examination of the literature produced by the movement as it evolved will show the

¹⁸ David E. Harrell, *All Things Are Possible*.

¹⁹ Stephen J. Pullum, *"Foul Demons Come Out!"*.

²⁰ See Edith Blumhofer, *Aimee Semple McPherson: Everybody's Sister* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1993) and Daniel Mark Epstein, *Sister Aimee: The Life of Aimee Semple McPherson* (NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1993).

²¹ See Walter J. Hollenweger, "Pentecostals and the Charismatic Movement" in Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright and Edward Yarnold, SJ, eds., *The Study of Spirituality* (London: SPCK, 1986), p. 551.

fragmentation, not just of the movement, but also of its theology.

2. This movement is best understood as a movement of the marginalized and the disenfranchised. While there is some benefit to be gained by focusing on the later “stars,” such as Oral Roberts or Aimee Semple McPherson, who managed to find themselves in the national or international spotlight, it is not an appropriate way to understand what the heart of the movement believed and practiced. Any attempt to examine the theology and practice of the movement must go to the margins. Contra Kydd, Oral Roberts is not the “quintessential Pentecostal.”²² That person is probably nameless, most likely female and possibly a person of color.

3. The Pentecostal revival movement of the early twentieth century would not have occurred if there had not first been a Wesleyan revival, followed by a Holiness revival. Therefore, Pentecostalism is best understood as the “grandchild” of the Wesleyan movement.

4. Doctrinal tenets do not develop in a vacuum. They are part and parcel of a theological terrain. When there is a shifting of the “plates” which make up the terrain, because of underlying fault lines, earthquakes occur, producing a new landscape. Inevitably, there are theological aftershocks, which produce changes in the landscape, not to the extent of the initial earthquake. This will be seen to be the case with the shift from a Wesleyan soteriology to a more Reformed one.

Argument of the Thesis

After an initial examination of the primary source materials, it became evident that there was not a monolithic healing theology which guided the Pentecostal movement, especially after 1910 and the introduction of Finished Work soteriology. Two distinct approaches to healing emerged.

This study will propose two models of healing theology and practice as they may be found in early North American Pentecostalism.

To arrive at these constructs, the research will survey and analyze the movement’s theological background in the nineteenth century healing movement (chapter 2). It will then move to an extensive examination and analysis of the earliest periodical literature, published between 1906 and 1923, which records the movement’s beliefs and practices (chapter 3).

Where periodical literature was unavailable, other extant materials, such as

²²Kydd, p. 202. Kydd appears to have been influenced by David Harrell on this topic.

published or transcribed sermons and tracts are examined. An inductive approach is utilized, allowing the voices to speak for themselves. Conclusions are deduced from the analysis. This chapter will be divided into two major parts: Part 1, The Wesleyan-Pentecostal Stream and Part 2, The Finished Work Pentecostal Stream.

Next, I will construct two models of healing theology and practice based on the documented findings. These constructs will be informed primarily by the preceding analysis. To test the models, an examination of the periodical literature during the Autumn and Winter of 1918-19, the time of the deadly 1918 Influenza Epidemic, will be utilized and reflection offered (chapter 4).

A final chapter will summarize conclusions including contributions, clarifications, and implications of the research for further Pentecostal studies as well as a theological reflection on the findings (chapter 5).

Chapter 2

The American Divine Healing Movement of the Nineteenth Century: Theological Analysis

Introduction--

The focus of this chapter is to establish the theology of the American Divine Healing Movement. This will be achieved first through an analysis of the hermeneutics of the movement, then through an analysis of the writings of the principle players of the Movement.

The Movement is well-documented, as one of the chief methods employed for the propagation of the Movement's ideology was publishing. Therefore, it is possible to analyze primary source material by all of the leading proponents.

The most helpful of the histories of the Movement is that written by Paul G. Chappell.¹ Chappell's work traces the movement from its inception as well as looking at influences from Europe and from an earlier period of American church history. In addition, Raymond J. Cunningham has devoted a chapter of his thesis² to the Movement in an attempt to trace the development of the psychotherapeutic role of American churches.

Though this chapter will look briefly at the history of the movement in an attempt to identify the major players, the primary aim is to assess the Movement's theology. The Movement's primary faith statement is that divine healing is provided in the Atonement and is available through the prayer of faith. This statement will be demonstrated to have developed as a part of a Wesleyan soteriology, as interpreted by the Holiness Movement of the nineteenth century. However, later developments in the theology take a decided shift toward a more positional understanding of the atonement. In addition, the belief will be shown to be undergirded by a premillennial eschatology. Finally, the Movement's ecclesiology will be evaluated.

I. Identification of the Movement

A. Definition

The Divine Healing Movement, or "Faith-Cure Movement" as it was

¹ Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*.

² Cunningham, *Ministry of Healing*.

originally called, has been identified by Chappell as “that group of persons who maintain the belief that physical disease or illness is cured by the supernatural intervention of God when the prayer of faith is prayed.”³ He sees the significance of the movement “in its uniqueness as the first to popularize a concept of salvation which includes health and healing as an integral part.”⁴

By merging these two statements, one can define the movement as that Christian movement which maintains a belief that physical disease or illness can be cured or healed by God’s supernatural intervention, when the prayer of faith is prayed; this healing is available as a part of salvation.

The term “faith-cure” was first used by Cullis and others to identify the belief, but the term “divine healing” was later seen as the proper designation because it located the healing as God’s work, rather than the work of faith *per se*.⁵ Throughout this work, the term “divine healing” will be used.

B. Time-frame

The beginnings of the Divine Healing Movement are generally traced to the work of Dr. Charles Cullis of Boston. After a visit to Dorothea Trudel and Samuel Zeller’s work at Mannedorf in Switzerland,⁶ in 1873 Cullis dedicated his ministry to the instruction in and ministry of the prayer of faith for the sick. However, Cullis had already reported healings as a result of the prayer of faith as early as 1870. The Movement, therefore, can be traced to the early part of the decade of the 1870’s.

The movement flourished throughout the rest of the decade and continued well into the next. Cunningham erroneously states that the movement disappeared “from public view” in the 1890’s.⁷ Chappell points out this error and notes that Torrey reported that in the early part of the twentieth century “ ‘ a most extraordinary interest’ in the subject was being

³ Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. v.

⁴ Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. ii.

⁵ Two of the principal exponents of the movement, Andrew Murray and Alfred Benjamin Simpson, both advocated the use of the term “divine healing.”

⁶ Trudel’s healing ministry began ca. 1850 when she began praying for the healing of mentally and emotionally ill individuals. This involvement led to the establishment of a residential care facility in Mannedorf, Switzerland ca. 1852. Zeller was her hand-picked successor. Cf. Kydd, *Healing through the Centuries*, pp. 142-53.

⁷ Cunningham, p. 43.

awakened in the nation.”⁸ Chappell and others⁹ have noted that the Movement was the immediate predecessor to the Pentecostal Movement of the early twentieth century. In fact, Chappell calls the “faith healers the first American pentecostals.”¹⁰ While this may be disputed, according to one’s definition of a Pentecostal, it cannot be disputed that the first American Pentecostals were believers in Divine Healing.

At any rate, the Movement as a self-aware movement, with an ideology and agenda, can be dated roughly from 1870 until the beginning of the twentieth century.

C. Theological Background

The Divine Healing Movement of the nineteenth century was the culmination of a series of theological moves, colored and influenced by the importation of various strands of thought. The movement sits firmly in the Wesleyan tradition but came into its own because of its openness to hear from other streams of thought and experience. The grandfather of the movement, John Wesley, had likewise developed his theology while being open to various influences.

As has been determined by Wesleyan scholarship, Wesley’s theology is the product of Anglican rearing and education but with the influence of the Eastern Fathers, such as Gregory of Nyssa and/or Macarius the Egyptian. Wesley’s view of sin, in particular, draws upon this tradition. Wesley also placed himself in the Reformation tradition, though he rejected most of Calvin’s theology. His contact with the Moravians while traveling to Georgia had a significant impact upon his thinking as did his interaction with them upon his return. And one must never underestimate the influence of his mother, Susanna, whose own family were Dissenters.

Wesley’s theology and new methods found great success in the colonies so that in the years just prior to the Civil War, Methodists were “the largest single denominational family in the country.”¹¹ Philip Schaff writes, “in

⁸ Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. ii.

⁹ See Dayton, “The Rise of the Divine Healing Movement,” in *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, pp. 115-141 and Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, p. 18 in particular.

¹⁰ Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. vii.

¹¹ Richard Carwardine, “Evangelicals, Politics, and the Coming of the American Civil War: A Transatlantic Perspective” in Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, and George A. Rawlyk, *Evangelicalism--Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles and Beyond 1700-1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 199.

America [the Methodist Movement] has had, perhaps, of all sections of the church, next to Puritanism, the greatest influence on the general religious life.”¹² Methodism’s aggressive nature and its use of itinerant preachers mixed well with the pioneer nature of America. As the frontier expanded, so did Methodism. Perfectionist beliefs were easily accepted by optimistic Americans. The Wesleyan ideals even began to shape the thought of American Calvinism.¹³ By this time, the Wesleyan distinctive of Christian Perfection had begun to cause rifts in the Methodist camp.

The Calvinist most responsible for the shape of evangelical America in the years preceding the Civil War was Charles Grandison Finney. Finney was an advocate of “New Measures” revivalism. These new measures included the use of the anxious bench, extemporaneous preaching, and encouragement of the participation of women. In addition, Arminian thought was becoming a dominant force. Finney, then professor of theology at Oberlin College, became a key figure in Revivalism in America, and at the same time in the Abolitionist Movement. An extraordinary claim was made by some blaming Oberlin for the Civil War.¹⁴ Finney’s theology became known as “Oberlin Perfectionism”¹⁵ and called for sanctification of the whole community of faith. This form of Evangelicalism, found in the Northern regions of the United States, has been characterized by Hill as more expressive than introspective. Hill writes that “piety underwrote and impelled practice in public.”¹⁶

Revivalism was most at home in urban centers. The revivals were followed up by various small group meetings, which were attended by women, businessmen or laborers and often these generated social reform moves, such as prison reform, relief efforts and Sabbatarianism. Hill says

¹² Philip Schaff, *America: A Sketch of its Political, Social and Religious Character* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1855) quoted in Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, p. 63.

¹³ See Richard Carwardine, “The Second Great Awakening in the Urban Centers: An Examination of Methodism and the ‘New Measures’”, *JAH* 59 (September 1972), pp. 327-40.*

¹⁴ Carwardine, “Evangelicals, Politics, and the Coming of the American Civil War: A Transatlantic Perspective” in Noll, Bebbington and Rawlyk, p. 204.

¹⁵ See. Melvin Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1996)

¹⁶ Samuel S. Hill, “Northern and Southern Varieties of American Evangelicalism in the Nineteenth Century” in *Evangelicalism*, p. 279. For a similar comparison of “external” and “internal” holiness in the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, see Jonathan Gerstner, “A Christian Monopoly: The Reformed Church and Colonial Society Under Dutch Rule” in Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, eds., *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 16-30.

that Finney's call for conversion had an "organic understanding" so that society was converted as well as the individual.¹⁷

Finney's revivalism was fueled by Phoebe Palmer's holiness teaching. Palmer, a New York physician's wife, and her sister, Sarah Lankford experienced sanctification and began her "Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness." These meetings were held in Palmer's home for about sixty years. These home meetings began to spring up all over the country and "became a center of the renewal of a version of the Wesleyan doctrine of Christian perfection that touched Methodist bishops and leaders and extended its influence far beyond denominational lines."¹⁸ Palmer's "shorter way", consisting of three steps to holiness, had a great influence on later understandings of appropriating God's blessings. Briefly stated, the steps are 1) entire consecration; 2) faith; and 3) testimony.¹⁹ Palmer's teachings have been deemed "altar theology" because of the emphasis on instantaneous experiences which take place at the altar. It is this "shorter way" which later moved healing doctrine toward a positional understanding.

The key revival of this period occurred in the years 1857-58. Beginning in Hamilton, Ontario where Phoebe Palmer was conducting Higher Life meetings, the revival spread throughout North America, primarily concentrating itself in the Northern urban centers.²⁰ The revival arose out of the laity and transcended denominational lines. Its primary focus was holiness of life and freedom from the power of sin. The message quickly spread to Britain and Western Europe.²¹

As a result of Palmer's efforts, The National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness was formed in 1867. Central to the purposes of this association was reformation of Methodism.²² Wesley had attempted to reform the Anglican Church by establishing a network of class meetings and societies. An important element of these meetings was

¹⁷ Hill, p. 280.

¹⁸ Dayton, p. 66.

¹⁹ Henry H. Knight, III. "From Aldersgate to Azusa: Wesley and the Renewal of Pentecostal Spirituality," *JPT* 8 (1996), p. 89. See also Melvin Dieter, "The Development of Nineteenth Century Holiness Theology," *WTJ* 20.1 (Spring, 1985), pp. 61-77.

²⁰ Faupel, p. 70.

²¹ Faupel sees this revival as the place where expectation of another Pentecostal outpouring can first be sensed.

²² A. Gregory Schneider, "A Conflict of Associations: The National Camp-Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness Versus the Methodist Episcopal Church," *CH* 66 (1997), pp. 268-283.

testimony. It was this element which the National Camp Meeting Association hoped to recover in a movement which was becoming increasingly institutionalized.

The inevitable split between the Wesleyan and Reformed wings of the Holiness movement occurred after the American Civil War, in 1875. The Keswick Movement began as a series of meetings in the Lake District of England, devoted to pursuit of the “Higher Life”. Influenced by Wesleyan theology, Keswick thought sees sanctification as experiential. However, like Reformed thought, sanctification is viewed as positional and ultimate. Faupel summarizes: “Justification and sanctification are essentially two aspects of the one work of grace which becomes ‘experientially’ appropriated in the individual through faith.”²³ As Dayton writes, “The major difference between the latter two may be seen in the epithets that they hurled at each other: the Holiness teachers were ‘eradicationists,’ while the Keswick teachers were ‘suppressionists’ with regard to the sinful nature.”²⁴ This solution provided the proper understanding whereby the “New Light Calvinists” could teach holiness of life.

Parallel to this struggle in the Holiness movement, was the rise of pre-millennialism. Post-millennial thought had been the accepted eschatology for centuries in the church and had been the impetus in many regards for Revivalism. Pre-Civil War revivalists really expected that they would help usher in the Kingdom of God. Advances in science and industry were seen as signs of improvements in culture and social reform was a move to see society morally ready for the coming Kingdom. The dark reality of the Civil War and its aftermath shook post-millennialism to its foundations. There was little optimism for the betterment of humanity. Millenarianism, once seen as a fringe extremist view began to be viewed more positively. Sandeen writes that after 1875, “American Millenarianism was transformed into a protodenominational fellowship movement with enlarged doctrinal concerns, though the springs of its energy still rose from second advent sources.”²⁵ The theology was propagated through conferences. Eventually, the list of speakers at these conferences and those of Keswick conventions were quite similar. The Keswick Movement and the developing Reformed

²³ Faupel, p. 84.

²⁴ Dayton, p. 105.

²⁵ Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism--British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 132.

Evangelicalism easily assimilated pre-millennial thought into their belief system.

German Pietism also impacted the holiness movement. Blumhardt's work at Bad Boll was well reported. The healings and exorcisms performed there and Blumhardt's cry "Jesus is Victor" were welcomed as sign of the inbreaking Kingdom.²⁶ Reports of Dorothea Trudel's healing home in Switzerland and Samuel Zeller's subsequent work there were also well-received and reported.

Finally, the story of George Mueller's "faith work" orphanage in England gave American holiness advocates the impetus they needed to see that a work for God could be wrought by faith alone.

It is in this ethos, then, that the Divine Healing movement was to emerge. This ethos was charged with Wesley's therapeutic view of sin, his doctrine of assurance and of Entire Sanctification. It was permeated by Finney's revivalism and Palmer's shorter way. It was informed by Europeans whose spirituality was lifted up as a model to be imitated. At this point in American church history, the next logical step in this series of moves would be taken and the "Faith-Cure" or Divine Healing Movement in America would emerge.

D. Leadership of the Movement

The story of movements in history is the story of people in history. The literature of the nineteenth century American healing movement, used so effectively to propagate its doctrine is written, for the most part, in narrative form. It was the testimonies of those who had been healed that served to illustrate and inform the doctrine in its development, and later to verify it. Intersecting with these testimonies are the stories of those who dedicated their lives to preaching and practicing the "faith cure." In most cases, those who led the way in the ministry of the "faith cure", also testified to having received healing miracles.

As is the story of most revival movements in the history of the church and particularly Wesleyan church history, this is a story of women, laity and minorities who gain wide respect because of their dedication, ability and service. These individuals made the ministry of healing their lifelong

²⁶ See Frank D. Macchia, *Spirituality and Social Liberation: The Message of the Blumhardts in the Light of Wuertemberg Pietism* (Metuchen, NJ and London: Scarecrow Press, 1993).

vocation, believing they had been healed and gifted to serve.

As was shown earlier, and as Chappell has demonstrated²⁷, the development of the movement did not occur in a vacuum. There were significant but obscure figures in America who were at the forefront of the wave. These men, and women, zealously prayed for those who were ill with results which were broadcast by word of mouth and also by the press. Ethan O. Allen, a lay person, was one of the first to link Christian Perfection with divine healing. Allen had been healed at a Methodist class meeting. He became the first to itinerate, carrying the message of divine healing. He was accompanied by Sarah and Edward Mix, an African-American couple from Connecticut. Sarah had been healed of tuberculosis under Allen's ministry. Sarah traveled and anointed the sick with oil while Edward recorded their theology and practices.²⁸ Allen was also assisted by a Miss Shoemaker of New York City.²⁹

These early advocates, along with the writings of the European divine healing adherents, influenced those who gave rise to the movement.³⁰ The conclusions of this chapter are based upon the study of the writings of several key players in the movement in America. These persons and their contributions to the movement will be examined briefly below.

1. Dr. Charles Cullis (1833-1892)

Charles Cullis is considered to be the father of the movement in America. This is undoubtedly due to the scope of his efforts and influence. One cannot read of his seemingly tireless endeavors to minister to the sick without being impressed by the magnitude of the work.

Cullis was a homeopathic physician with a well-established practice in Boston who gave himself to the care of the poor after his conversion, following the death of his first wife. In 1862, Cullis, an Episcopalian, testified

²⁷ Chappell (*Divine Healing Movement in America*) has shown that in America several "fringe" religious groups, such as the Shakers, Adventists, and Mormons practiced or taught some type of healing ritual.

²⁸ See Mrs. Edward Mix, *Faith Cures and Answers to Prayer*, with a critical introduction by Rosemary D. Gooden (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2002). Mrs. Mix has been identified by Chappell as Elizabeth Mix. However, Gooden's recent research has shown her name to be Sarah Mix.

²⁹ Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, pp. 87-99.

³⁰ Wacker's assessment of these early influences is helpful. However he seems to make too much of a distinction in the thought of the early players, placing them too far outside the Holiness trajectory. (See Wacker, "The Pentecostal Tradition", pp. 516-520.)

of an experience of Entire Sanctification.³¹ In his words,

Having settled for myself some years ago that God's word was true, and accepting the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, I reckoned myself washed by blood and sanctified by the Spirit. I took my stand upon the promises whereby 'we are made partakers of the divine nature.'³²

Cullis' own account of this experience in Boardman's *Faith Work Under Dr. Cullis* describes the call to work that followed as being "designated" by the Lord:

The truth instantly flashed through my soul that God appoints every man his work if he will take it, and that the miscellaneous way in which men choose their own work for the Lord, instead of looking to him and having him designate it for them, is all wrong.³³

His care for the sick at this point primarily consisted of homeopathic treatment along with spiritual counsel. He led the indigent under his care to salvation and sanctification.

In the late 1860's, Cullis began contemplating the meaning of James 5.14,15 for his ministry. He began to incorporate the prayer of faith into his care of the sick. In 1879, Cullis announced, "For upwards of six years the command and the promise in James v. 14 and 15 have been made real to me by faith, so that hundreds of sufferers have been healed."³⁴ Cullis saw the command as " ' explicit and unmistakable'" and saw his own lack of obedience as limiting the power of God.³⁵ Cullis' interpretation was confirmed through the writings of Dorothea Trudel (Cullis writes, "Why not in Boston?" ³⁶) and verified by the experience he saw as a "turning point."³⁷

In 1870, a woman named Lucy Drake who suffered with a brain tumor prayed with Cullis. Cullis shared with her the promises of James 5 and anointed her with oil. Though she had been bedridden for five months, she rose from the bed and walked. Within three months, Cullis reported the illness had disappeared entirely.³⁸

Cullis convinced others in the Holiness movement that divine healing

³¹ Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 109.

³² Charles Cullis, *Faith Cures or Answers to Prayer in the Healing of the Sick* (Boston: Willard Tract Repository, 1879), p. 5.

³³ W. E. Boardman, *Faith Work under Dr. Cullis in Boston* (Boston: Willard Tract Repository, 1873), p. 25.

³⁴ Cullis, p. 5.

³⁵ Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, p.127

³⁶ Cullis, p. 14.

³⁷ Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 129.

³⁸ Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 129.

was provided, as was salvation, in the Atonement. These teachers included James Inskip, W. E. Boardman and Daniel Steele. His influence upon these and others was accomplished not only through personal contact but also through his vast publishing endeavors. Cullis established the Willard Tract Repository which published holiness literature and later books and tracts regarding divine healing.

In addition to publishing the works of others, Cullis' *Annual Report of the Consumptives' Home*, contained testimonies of healing. These testimonies and others were included in his own works *Faith Cures; or Answers to Prayer in the Healing of the Sick*, *More Faith Cures*, *Other Faith Cures* and in his journal *Times of Refreshing*.

Using the European homes established by Trudel, Blumhardt and Mueller as models, Cullis opened a faith cure home in Boston. The purpose of this home, like those in Europe, was to care for the sick and help bring them to faith for their healing. He continued to treat the sick medically and operated a medical dispensary in the city. However, his desire was to show the world "...that when the 'profession' pronounces a case hopeless, the promise of God remains as a testimony to the truth of His word...."³⁹

Following Palmer's Tuesday Meeting model, Cullis began holding Tuesday meetings at his own home, the purpose of which was "...the advancement of believers in the knowledge and experience of holiness."⁴⁰ These meetings grew so that it was necessary to build a chapel for the 600-700 attendees. The meetings were held for twenty-three years.

Eventually, Cullis operated the Willard Tract Repository, five churches, a college, two orphanages, and healing homes specializing in the care of spinal patients, cancer patients, paralytics, the mentally insane, and "fallen women". He also oversaw missions to the American Jewish population, black freedmen in the South, Chinese Americans and several missions in California. Missionaries were sent from his work to India and South Africa.

Cullis utilized the holiness camp meeting model in establishing his yearly convention at Old Orchard, Maine (later moved to Intervale Park, New Hampshire.) Though this convention was called by one critic a shrine for

³⁹ Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 141.

⁴⁰ Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 122.

healing like Lourdes⁴¹ the primary consideration of the convention was instruction in Christian Perfection. Normally only one day of the convention, the final Tuesday, was devoted to prayer for the sick. A Canadian observer noted that those seeking healing numbered in the hundreds.⁴² These conventions gained wide coverage by both secular and religious (pro and con) media. Eventually, conventions were conducted in other major cities in the United States.

Cullis' faith work spanned approximately thirty-five years. He died of a heart attack in June of 1892. Though his work continued for a few years, it was much reduced in its scope after his death.

Chappell writes of Cullis: "He gave his talents and efforts to help that part of humanity which had become disposable, unwanted, and even an embarrassment to a society which could not cure them through modern science."⁴³

2. Adoniram Judson Gordon (1836-1895)

Another Bostonian playing a major part in the advancement of the doctrine of divine healing was A. J. Gordon. Gordon, a Baptist, was the pastor of the Clarendon Street Church in Boston for the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century. A graduate of Newton Theological Seminary, he was involved in many of the social issues in which the adherents of the Holiness movement often found themselves at the forefront, such as women's rights and prohibition.⁴⁴

Gordon became a trustee of Cullis' faith work⁴⁵ and in 1877, at D. L. Moody's meeting in Boston, witnessed the instantaneous healings of an opium addict and a missionary with a cancerous jaw.⁴⁶ Gordon began to study seriously the scriptures with regard to divine healing and in 1881 published a tract (and later a book by the same title), *The Ministry of Healing-Miracles of Cure in All Ages*. Though not a Wesleyan, Gordon utilized what would later be identified as Wesley's *quadrilateral*, structuring his text around

⁴¹ James Buckley, a frequent observer and critic, made this analogy. See Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 144. See also his *Faith Healing, Christian Science and kindred Phenomena* (New York: Century, 1892).

⁴² Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 148

⁴³ Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 190.

⁴⁴ Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, pp. 219-220.

⁴⁵ Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, p. 128.

⁴⁶ Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 223.

arguments from scripture, reason, tradition and experience. The testimonies of scripture, the early church fathers, theologians, missionaries and those healed under Dr. Cullis are cited.⁴⁷

Gordon eventually published over a dozen titles and a periodical, *The Watchword*. In 1889 he founded Boston Missionary Training School, later named Gordon College.

3. Albert Benjamin Simpson (1843-1919)

A. B. Simpson's influence upon three movements in American church history is well documented. His writings and personal speaking engagements greatly informed both the Holiness and Divine Healing Movements. As founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, he greatly impacted the message and method of missions during this period. Finally, his influence upon Pentecostalism is without question. Many of the formulators of Pentecostal doctrine had studied at Simpson's school, had worshipped or served at his church or in the Alliance, or had most certainly read his literature. Faupel names Simpson as the greatest influence upon the theology and ministry of Frank Sandford.⁴⁸ Charles Parham attended services at Simpson's school in Nyack, NY and his student, Agnes Ozman had formerly been a student at Nyack.⁴⁹ Early editions of the Azusa Street Mission publication *The Apostolic Faith* offered reprints of Simpson's writings. Carrie Judd Montgomery was also associated with Simpson and a charter member of the Christian and Missionary Alliance. Some have speculated that Aimee Semple McPherson's "Foursquare Gospel" was a modification of Simpson's "Four-fold Gospel."⁵⁰

Born in 1843 in Bayview, Prince Edward Island, Canada, Simpson came from a Calvinist background. He was a graduate of Knox College in Toronto and pastored Knox church in Hamilton, Ontario. At a young age, he was called upon to pastor the Chestnut St. Presbyterian Church in Louisville, Kentucky, then the most prestigious church in the North Presbyterian Synod.

Simpson, however, had evangelistic leanings and early on began

⁴⁷ A. J. Gordon, *The Ministry of Healing--Miracles of Cure in All Ages* (Harrisburg, PA: Christian Publications, n.d.).

⁴⁸ Faupel, p. 142.

⁴⁹ Faupel, pp. 164 and 170.

⁵⁰ See Blumhofer, p. 191. Blumhofer is not convinced that McPherson appropriated Simpson's rubric, though she allows for the possibility.

holding evangelistic meetings on Sunday nights. Though attended by over 2000, the meetings were greatly opposed by the community.⁵¹ In addition to his evangelistic impulse, Simpson had and began preaching a crisis sanctification experience. Later, he described the experience, "About twelve years ago I got into another deep experience of conviction, and I got out of that by believing in Jesus as my Sanctifier."⁵²

In 1879, Simpson assumed the pastorate of the Thirteenth Street Presbyterian Church in New York City. His vision was to evangelize the masses and see the formation of a truly classless church. After two years, Simpson resigned and began an independent work.

Due to exhaustion, Simpson at this time faced what turned out to be a complete physical and nervous breakdown. He went to Old Orchard Beach, Maine and attended Cullis' faith convention. Hearing Cullis' teaching, he became open to the doctrine of divine healing.⁵³ He wrote of his conversion to the doctrine, "After years of teaching and waiting on Him, the Lord Jesus Christ showed me four years ago that it was His blessed will to be my complete Saviour for body as well as soul."⁵⁴ Simpson pledged to trust God for his healing and then experienced healing in his body. He wrote that he felt "'every fibre' of his soul 'tingling with a sense of God's presence.'"⁵⁵

Simpson now saw that the doctrine "was part of Christ's glorious gospel for a sinful and suffering world, and the purchase of His blessed cross, for all who would believe and receive His word."⁵⁶ Divine Healing, then, became a part of Simpson's evangelistic message.

He returned to New York City determined to reach the unchurched masses. Within four months his Gospel Tabernacle had 217 members with 700 attending Sunday evening services. Like Cullis, his message was preached with more than words: he established ethnic churches in the city, six rescue missions, a home for prostitutes, temperance homes, a dispensary and an orphanage. He worked for prison and other social reform.

Simpson founded the coeducational Missionary Training College (now Nyack College and Theological Seminary), the Evangelical Missionary

⁵¹ Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, pp. 252-53.

⁵² A. B. Simpson, *The Fourfold Gospel* (Harrisburg, PA: Christian Alliance Publications, Inc., 1925), p. 6.

⁵³ Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, 256-258.

⁵⁴ Simpson, p. 6.

⁵⁵ Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 259

⁵⁶ Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 258.

Alliance, and the Christian Alliance, an alliance of those who believed and taught the Four-fold Gospel.⁵⁷ In 1897, the two alliances united to form the Christian and Missionary Alliance.

The Four-fold Gospel was Simpson's rubric for explaining what he considered the "four great pillars in the temple of truth."⁵⁸ Simpson wrote that though the blessings of the Lord were not limited to four, "But there are four messages in the Gospel which sum up in a very complete way the blessings which Christ has to offer us and which it is especially important that Christians should emphasize today."⁵⁹

Simpson was a prolific writer and his Four-fold Gospel message was easily propagated. He wrote over seventy books, the most important of which are *The Gospel of Healing*, *The Four-fold Gospel*, *Wholly Sanctified* and *The Christ Life*. In addition, he wrote six other volumes which discussed the doctrine of Divine Healing and related testimonies of those healed.⁶⁰ His periodical *The Word, Work and World* included a section devoted to "The Gospel of Healing."⁶¹

Simpson also used the convention format to broadcast his message. He held inter-denominational conventions at his church, then in major cities in the United States. In 1886 he began holding conventions on "Christian Life and Work and Divine Healing" at Old Orchard Beach. These lasted for thirty-two years. Old Orchard Beach then became a center for Divine Healing in America with Simpson's conventions continuing for twenty years after Cullis' conventions had moved to New Hampshire.⁶² Many prominent holiness/healing speakers preached and taught at Simpson's convention including Gordon, Judd, Murray, Pierson and Torrey. In addition, Simpson was a frequent speaker at other conventions and conferences.

In Manhattan, Simpson held weekly Friday afternoon meetings where healing was taught and ministered. These meetings continued uninterrupted for 38 years.

When Simpson's daughter was healed of diphtheria in 1884, Simpson

⁵⁷ Simpson's Four-fold Gospel was a faith statement consisting of four major doctrines: Jesus is Saviour, Jesus is Sanctifier, Jesus is Healer, and Jesus is Coming King.

⁵⁸ Frederic H. Senft in the Introduction to the 1925 edition of *The Four-fold Gospel*, p. 4.

⁵⁹ Simpson quoted in Senft's introduction to *The Four-fold Gospel*, p. 4.

⁶⁰ *The Discovery of Divine Healing, Inquiries and Answers Concerning Divine Healing, A Cloud of Witnesses* and *Friday Meeting Talks* (three volumes).

⁶¹ Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 264.

⁶² Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 265.

and his wife dedicated their home as a faith home, calling it Berachah (“House of Blessing”).⁶³ When the home was opened, Simpson declared: “‘Any sufferer who is really willing to exercise and act faith for healing will be received for a limited time for instruction and waiting upon God for temporal and spiritual blessing.’”⁶⁴ During the first two years of operation, the home sheltered and cared for about 700 persons. The home was overseen by two matrons while Simpson and his associates conducted healing services daily.⁶⁵

As an apologist of the doctrine of divine healing, Simpson also used his influence to counter the criticism of the skeptics and to defend the doctrine against misinterpretation by others. He answered Buckley’s criticism in the *Century Magazine* by asserting “Divine Healing and Demonism Not Identical.”⁶⁶ He also refuted and disassociated himself with self-promoting faith healers. One target of his pen was John Alexander Dowie, who gained a wide following through his sensational claims and methods. Dowie contended that healing should be foremost in evangelism. Simpson maintained that healing was only “one of four wheels of His chariot” and not all the gospel.⁶⁷ So committed was he to the idea that divine healing was a part of the provision of an all-sufficient Christ that he rejected the term “faith-cure”, giving preference to the term “divine healing.” He felt that “faith-cure” placed too much emphasis on faith, without looking properly to God as healer.⁶⁸

Simpson is regarded by many to be the forerunner of Pentecostal theology in that he is noted for a hermeneutical method which derived truth or doctrine from biblical narrative, primarily the narrative of the book of Acts. Simpson noted that in Acts, Spirit Baptism was an event subsequent to regeneration. This experience he identified as with the Wesleyan understanding of sanctification. Though he was critical of the initial evidence doctrine of the later Pentecostal movement, he nevertheless remained open to what he perceived to be works of the Spirit.⁶⁹

⁶³ Dayton, p. 127.

⁶⁴ Simpson quoted in Cunningham, p. 15.

⁶⁵ Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 269.

⁶⁶ Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 270.

⁶⁷ Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 273.

⁶⁸ Simpson, p. 54.

⁶⁹ C. Nienkirchen, “Simpson, Albert Benjamin,” *DPCM*, p. 786.

4. Andrew Murray (1828-1917)

The writings of Andrew Murray had a significant influence on the development of the doctrine of divine healing and also on Keswick holiness teaching. Murray was not American but his writings were published extensively in American holiness/healing publications. Murray authored about 240 books and tracts which have been published in fifteen languages, many of which are still in print.

Though his ministry centered in South Africa, Murray was of Scottish descent. His family was of the Presbyterian faith and his father and uncle were Presbyterian ministers. Andrew and his brother were formally educated at Aberdeen and in Holland. They were later ordained in The Church at the Cape.⁷⁰

Murray was instrumental in bringing revival to South Africa in the later nineteenth century and is credited with introducing Keswick teaching to the churches there.

Murray worked at an exhausting rate, speaking in churches throughout the country in churches or in open-air meetings. His pace eventually took its toll and he was told by a doctor that he would never preach again, as he suffered from a “relaxed throat” and was ordered to be silent for two years.⁷¹ Murray went to England to consult with a well-known physician and while there met Rev. Otto Stockmayer at a conference in London. He had been reading healing works by Cullis and Boardman and Stockmayer convinced him that James 5 makes a distinction between suffering and disease. After three weeks of instruction and study at Boardman’s faith home, Bethshan, Murray was completely healed, never again being afflicted with the throat condition. Murray wrote of the experience:

Morning by morning the sixteen or eighteen inmates were assembled around the Word of God, and instructed as to what there still remained in themselves to prevent them from appropriating the promise, and what there was in Scripture to encourage them to faith and to complete surrender. I cannot remember that I have ever listened to expositions of the Word of God in which greater simplicity and a more glorious spirit of faith were revealed, combined with heart-searching

⁷⁰ Leona Frances Choy, *Andrew Murray--Apostle of Abiding Love* (Fort Washington, PA: Christian Literature Crusade, 1978), pp. 23-37.

⁷¹ Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 215.

application of God's demand to surrender everything to Him.⁷²

Murray's experience greatly colored his subsequent theological reflection. He perceived his experience of healing as pointing "out the road of holiness and full consecration which God would have us follow."⁷³

Murray later visited Trudel's homes in Switzerland, then under the direction of Zeller. He began to contemplate whether or not he was called to the ministry of divine healing. He discussed this with Zeller who expressed the opinion,

if the Church were to flourish as in the earliest ages, and the leaders in the congregation were again to be characterised by true spirituality, the gift of healing would be found very much more frequently; and that this would be the case especially in the ministers of the Gospel, who would thus find a powerful recommendation for their work in rescuing the lost and in securing the sanctification of the children of God.⁷⁴

In 1884, Murray published *Jezus de Geneesheer der Kranken*. The text was published in America by the Christian and Missionary Alliance as *Divine Healing*. Murray, too, preferred the term "divine healing" to "faith healing."⁷⁵

Murray's ministry continued until his eighty-eighth year. He served as founder and president of the Cape General Mission⁷⁶ and moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa.

5. Carrie Judd Montgomery (1858-1946)

Like the American Holiness Movement before it, the Divine Healing Movement was a movement whose theology and practice were informed and served by women. Women actively ministered the message of Divine Healing and spread the message through publishing and travel. Sarah Mix itinerated in the States while Dorothea Trudel operated her faith home in Europe. Cullis' conventions featured female speakers such as Mrs. Michael Baxter, Phoebe Lord Upham and Hannah Whitall Smith.

Perhaps the most significant female figure in the movement was

⁷² J. Du Plessis, *The Life of Andrew Murray of South Africa* (London: Marshall Brothers, Limited, 1919), p. 340.

⁷³ W. M. Douglas, *Andrew Murray and His Message--One of God's Choice Saints* (London: Oliphants Ltd., 1926), p. 191.

⁷⁴ Douglas, p. 192.

⁷⁵ Choy, p. 152.

⁷⁶ Choy, p. 193.

Carrie Judd Montgomery. Her significance comes partially from the fact that she was an active participant and leader in three major movements in American church history.⁷⁷ Montgomery was a founding member and the first recording secretary of the Christian and Missionary Alliance. In addition she was a prominent leader in the Divine Healing Movement and later, as a result of the Azusa Street revival, Carrie Judd Montgomery became a pioneer in the Pentecostal Movement. Chappell points out that Montgomery was a participant in the nineteenth century healing movement and lived to see the revival of the movement in the post-World War II era.⁷⁸

Montgomery's significance also can be attributed to her industrious nature. Like other leaders of this movement, Carrie Judd Montgomery was a gifted speaker, writer and administrator. Albrecht correctly labels her an entrepreneur in the "Age of Enterprise."⁷⁹ She founded healing homes on two sides of the continent and published and edited *Triumphs of Faith*, a monthly periodical for sixty-six years. In addition, she and her husband, George Montgomery, founded a community, Beulah Heights, just outside of Oakland, California, as a refuge for the needy, orphans and foreign missionaries in need of rest. Shalom Training School was established for the equipping of missionaries and Beulah Chapel was organized as a house of worship, later to become an Assemblies of God church, where Carrie Judd Montgomery served as pastor.⁸⁰

Carrie Faith Judd was born to devout Episcopalian parents in Buffalo, New York in 1858. Her family insisted on both quality religious and academic training for their children. Early on, Judd's literary skills were noted. She planned a career in education.

However, the Judd family was marked by several bouts with severe illness. Two of Carrie's siblings died of tuberculosis. As a teenager, Judd fell on the ice and suffered a two week bout with spinal fever. She was afflicted with "hyperaesthesia" which spread to her joints. Later, she contracted "blood consumption." For two years, Judd was bedridden and could scarcely

⁷⁷ Daniel Albrecht, "Carrie Judd Montgomery: Pioneering Contributor to Three Religious Movements," *Pneuma* 8 (Fall 1986), pp. 101-19.

⁷⁸ Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 229.

⁷⁹ Albrecht, p. 101.

⁸⁰ Albrecht, p. 109.

speak.⁸¹

When her father read of Sarah Mix and her ministry to the sick, Mix was contacted regarding Carrie's condition. Mrs. Mix sent a letter instructing Judd and her family. She wrote: "I can encourage you, by the Word of God, that 'according to your faith' so be it unto you; and besides you have this promise, 'The prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.'"⁸² She instructed Carrie to "lay aside all medicine of every description", to "...use no remedies of any kind for anything" which would be "trusting in the 'arm of flesh.'"⁸³ Mix appointed a time when her "female prayer-meeting" would pray for Carrie's healing and Carrie and her family were to pray at that same time. Carrie was then to "*act faith*".⁸⁴

Judd reports that she had expected a gradual healing, but she felt her soul "flooded" with faith and was able to raise up from her bed for the first time in two years.⁸⁵ Within three weeks time, she was walking, had gained twenty pounds, noted physical changes in her veins and the death-like odor that had surrounded her was gone. In six months, she was completely healed.⁸⁶

Carrie Judd's story was printed in newspapers and other periodicals and she later published the complete story in *The Prayer of Faith*. In addition, this book included instruction in faith and healing.

Carrie was inspired by Cullis' *Annual Reports* and went into ministry. She was immediately sought after as a speaker. *The Prayer of Faith* was published in five languages. In 1881, she began the publication of *Triumphs of Faith*, subtitled, *A Monthly Journal, Devoted to Faith-Healing and to the Promotion of Christian Holiness*.

In 1882, she founded Faith Rest Cottage, a healing home in Buffalo. After her marriage to George Montgomery, in 1891, she moved to Oakland where they founded The People's Mission, a rescue mission, Home of

⁸¹ Carrie's illness and subsequent healing are detailed in her book *The Prayer of Faith* (Buffalo, NY: Carrie F. Judd, 1880) and in her autobiography *Under His Wings* (Oakland, CA: Office of Triumphs of Faith, 1936). Both of these volumes have been reprinted in one volume, *The Life and Teachings of Carrie Judd Montgomery* in Donald W. Dayton, ed., *The Higher Christian Life--Sources for the Study of the Holiness, Pentecostal and Keswick Movements* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985).

⁸² Judd, *The Prayer of Faith*, p. 14.

⁸³ The use of medicine was often interpreted in light of 2 Chronicles 16.12.

⁸⁴ Judd, p. 14.

⁸⁵ Montgomery, *Under His Wings*, p. 56.

⁸⁶ Montgomery, *Under His Wings*, p. 57 and Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 232.

Peace, the first healing home on the west coast and Beulah Heights. She continued her association with Simpson and the Christian and Missionary Alliance, but also became an honorary Salvation Army officer and knew William Booth personally.

The Cazadero Camp Meeting outside of Oakland was established by the Montgomerys and brought the holiness/healing and later Pentecostal message to the West Coast. She became interested in foreign missions after her Pentecostal experience in 1908⁸⁷ and made several missionary trips to the Far East and Mexico. Montgomery became a minister in the Assemblies of God denomination in 1917.

Under His Wings, Montgomery's autobiography, was published in 1936. In it she detailed her life and ministry as it spanned six decades. Her ministry continued for another decade and her influence for more. The periodical *Triumphs of Faith* was continued by her daughter Faith Montgomery Berry and is still published by the Home of Peace in Oakland, California.

Carrie Judd Montgomery was open to whatever she perceived the Lord was doing in a particular place and a particular era, but she did not enter into these new arenas without caution. Her autobiography clearly demonstrates her careful evaluation of what was happening as a result of the Azusa Street revival. At the same time, Montgomery was not so cautious as to miss out on a new endeavor.

II. Hermeneutics of the Movement

Introduction

As has been shown, the Divine Healing Movement of the nineteenth century existed in a time of theological flux. The National Camp Meeting Association and institutional Methodism were in a struggle over the proper interpretation of Wesleyan Theology. Reformed Theology had been affected by the Wesleyan Revival and was being rethought. The two theologies, so different in concept, had recently been sharing ideas and platforms but were at a time of division again. Post-millennialism, which was the dominant eschatological perspective of the time, was being discarded by some in the Reformed camp for pre-millennial thought. B. B. Warfield had begun his

⁸⁷ Montgomery's testimony of speaking in tongues is recorded in *Under His Wings*, pp. 164-170 and will be discussed in the Ch. 3, Part 3.I.A.

campaign to defend the inerrancy and authority of Scripture. And expectation of another Pentecostal outpouring was growing among Holiness adherents.

A. Theological Presuppositions

The place of Scripture in the Wesleyan tradition is not disputed. Wesley's theology, in the High Anglican tradition, held that Scripture was *primary*. However, also in the High Anglican tradition, Scripture's role was not *solitary*. Albert Outler, in analyzing Wesley's sources for theological reflection, has identified what he has called the "Wesleyan Quadrilateral."⁸⁸ Building on his Anglican heritage, Wesley derived his doctrine from consideration of Scripture, reason and tradition (the Anglican Triad) but added the important source for Wesley, experience. These are appealed to in various combinations throughout his *Works*. This integration of four sources is an important consideration when examining the hermeneutic employed by Wesley but also by his followers.

Another tendency which the healing movement inherited from the Wesleyan tradition is *primitivism*. While Wesley did appeal to tradition, there was the assumption on Wesley's part that the church had fallen from its mission and intended purpose. Snyder has categorized Wesley as a Radical Protestant in this and other regards. He writes, "Although other Anglican divines shared some of his primitivism, Wesley's desire to recapture the dynamic of the early church was a practical motivating force pushing him toward innovation and helping to justify new methods."⁸⁹

The Wesleyan appeal to Scripture alongside reason, primitive tradition and especially experience is an important hermeneutical consideration. Scripture then is interpreted *in light of* what experience dictates. This is not a blanket endorsement of all experience (the other sources are the safeguard here) but does allow for an integrative approach to scripture interpretation. In addition, the appeal to primitive tradition influences the reader to look for the actions of the early church and take them as indicative of what the life of the church is to be. This will be seen as the overarching theme in the hermeneutical process.

In addition, the prevalence of Scottish Common Sense philosophy in

⁸⁸ Albert C. Outler, "The Wesleyan Quadrilateral in Wesley," *WTJ* 20.1, pp. 7-18.

⁸⁹ Howard A. Snyder, *The Radical Wesley and Patterns for Church Renewal* (Downers Grove, Ill.: Inter-Varsity Press, 1980), pp. 120, 121.

America of the nineteenth century must be considered. The prevailing notion was that the “human mind was so constructed that we can know the real world directly.”⁹⁰ This philosophy coupled with Francis Bacon’s inductive scientific method was easily merged into burgeoning evangelical hermeneutics.⁹¹ Lennox designates this as a populist hermeneutic. He writes, “Surpassing the Reformation’s emphasis on *Sola Scriptura*, the populist hermeneutic identified the common person as fully capable of understanding the Bible.”⁹²

Another consideration is the Pentecostal expectancy identified by Faupel as occurring in the 1857-58 revival. According to Faupel, this revival, seen as a new Pentecost, shifted the center from soteriological terms to pneumatological ones. Though John Fletcher had earlier set the stage by referring to the work of sanctification as Baptism in the Spirit, the revival saw the shift take place. When the Civil War dashed hopes of the imminent millennium, Holiness preachers began to see sanctification in pneumatological terms and began the move toward pre-millennialism.⁹³ Palmer’s preaching increasingly talked of “power” as identical with “purity.”⁹⁴ This power was needed for service.

Adherents of the holiness/healing doctrines read the New Testament through the lens of this sort of Pentecostal expectancy. Signs and wonders were a sign of the end of time and a reasonable expectation in an age of the Spirit.

Finally, and not unrelated to the above considerations, the Anglican background of two of the prominent leaders, Cullis and Montgomery, should be taken into account. The sacramental nature of their faith comes to bear on how they read the Bible as is shown in the next section. It is more than just a guidebook, it is *Word of God*, the presence of God.

B. Hermeneutical Method

While the Divine Healing Movement can be seen as a part of

⁹⁰ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture--The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 14.

⁹¹ Marsden, pp. 15ff.

⁹² Stephen J. Lennox, “Biblical Interpretation, in the American Holiness Movement: 1875-1920” *WTJ* 33.1 (Spring 1998), p. 23. See also Stephen J. Lennox, *Biblical Interpretation in the American Holiness Movement, 1875-1920* (Ph.D. diss., Drew University, 1992).

⁹³ Faupel, p. 79. See also Lawrence J. Wood, “Pentecostal Sanctification in John Wesley and Early Methodism,” *WTJ* 34.1 (Spring 1999), pp. 24-63.

⁹⁴ Faupel, p. 84.

Evangelicalism's family tree, present day Evangelicalism's sanctioned hermeneutical method is quite different than that of its ancestor.⁹⁵ However, the hermeneutics of the Divine Healing Movement have a marked similarity with its direct descendant, Pentecostalism.

Kenneth Archer has recently discussed the differences of Pentecostal Hermeneutics and that of Evangelicalism. He summarizes, "A hermeneutic that focuses only upon what the original inspired author meant and/or intended first readers to understand will not completely satisfy the requirements of a Pentecostal hermeneutic."⁹⁶ He continues, "The essence of Pentecostalism asserts that 'the spiritual and extraordinary supernatural experiences of the biblical characters are possible for contemporary believers.'"⁹⁷ John McKay has identified this identification with the Biblical drama as "shared experience."⁹⁸ The Divine Healing Movement held this same kind of Pentecostal expectancy and primitivistic impulse.

John Christopher Thomas' proposal of a Pentecostal hermeneutic based on the hermeneutic of the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15 is informative to this analysis.⁹⁹ There are three components to this method: the community (and their experience), the activity of the Holy Spirit and Scripture. These are integrated and dynamic. In essence, the community testifies of the activity of the Spirit and Scripture is searched in order to confirm or repudiate the experience.

The use of Scripture in the Divine Healing Movement bears a remarkable resemblance to the model proposed by Thomas and modeled in Acts 15. The clearest difference, however, involves the role of the community. As Snyder has shown, the Holiness movement was characterized by "*a lessened consciousness of Christian community and of*

⁹⁵ See Donald N. Dayton, "Yet Another Layer of the Onion: Or Opening the Ecumenical Door to Let the Riffraff In", *The Ecumenical Review* 40.1 (January 1988), pp. 87-110 for interesting insights into the roots of the Holiness Movement and Evangelicalism.

⁹⁶ Kenneth J. Archer, "Pentecostal Hermeneutics: Retrospect and Prospect", *JPT* 8 (1996), p. 75.

⁹⁷ J. Byrd, "Ricoeur's Hermeneutical Theory and Pentecostal Proclamation", p. 205; F. Arrington, "The Use of the Bible by Pentecostals," *Pneuma* 16.1 (1994), p. 105 quoted in Archer, p. 75.

⁹⁸ See John McKay, "When the Veil is Taken Away: The Impact of Prophetic Experience on Biblical Interpretation", *JPT* 5 (1994), p. 26.

⁹⁹ John Christopher Thomas, "Women, Pentecostals and the Bible: An Experiment in Pentecostal Hermeneutics", *JPT* 5 (1994), pp. 41-56.

the need for structures for community."¹⁰⁰ Though the Camp Meeting Association was formed with the intent of revitalizing Methodism, which had gotten away from the class meeting structure, mass meetings "could not bear the load."¹⁰¹ Holiness and later Divine Healing adherents found themselves on the periphery of the established church world. However, though the movement was not *conscious* of its need for community, informal structures did take shape. People sought out the support, instruction and accountability of other like-minded individuals. This often occurred through printed media such as written correspondence or published books or periodicals. In *The Prayer of Faith*, Carrie Judd writes,

I believe that the command comes to me, as it came to that restored and rejoicing man so many hundred years ago: "Go home to thy friends and tell them how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compassion on thee."--St. Mark v: 19. A precious thought it is to me, that, in the strong bond of fellowship and love which exists between Christ's disciples, I may know you *all* as friends. So *home* to each one of you I would come, with the peculiar tenderness and sympathy which suffering draws forth from those who have suffered likewise, and I long to speak words of comfort, which will assure you that there is "balm in Gilead," and a "physician there."¹⁰²

At any rate, the Divine Healing Movement's hermeneutic was a dynamic interplay between the work of God/Spirit in a person's experience (i.e., healing) and the text's interpretation and confirmation of the work. As will be demonstrated, the literature of the period was replete with testimonies supported by biblical texts. In fact, most of the major works of the Movement *began* with a testimony of the writer's own healing or the healing of someone with whom they had prayed, which was followed by an exposition of supporting texts or instructions regarding healing supported by the biblical text.¹⁰³

C. Examples

Carrie Judd Montgomery's book *The Prayer of Faith* begins with an account of her bout with illness and the subsequent healing. She reprints the letter sent to her by Sarah Mix. Having heard of healings as a result of

¹⁰⁰ Howard A. Snyder, *The Divided Flame--Wesleyans and the Charismatic Renewal* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1986), p. 69.

¹⁰¹ Snyder, *Divided Flame*, p. 70.

¹⁰² Carrie Judd Montgomery, *The Prayer of Faith*, p. 22.

¹⁰³ See for example: C. Judd, *The Prayer of Faith*; Charles Cullis, *Faith Cures*.

Mix' ministry, Carrie's family consulted her and she responded: "I received a line from your sister Eva, stating your case, your disease and your faith." As earlier stated, she "encouraged her," based on the promise of the Word of God, her own faith and the added faith of Mix and her prayer group, that by faith, she would be healed.¹⁰⁴

In this example, the Judd family and Mix function as a community who believe in healing and seek the word of God for confirmation. Mix provides confirming scripture references from Matthew and James. Later, Judd describes the aftermath of the healing:

Even more wonderful, and infinitely more precious than being brought from death unto life, physically, is the renewed life which the soul experiences at the same time under the healing influence of the Holy Spirit. A deep, intense love for God is implanted in the heart, worldly desires and ambitions sink into nothingness, the one absorbing thought is to be conformed more and more to the image of Christ, and the forgiveness of sins promised with the healing in James v: 14,15 is experienced as never before.¹⁰⁵

Cullis' account of his experience of entire sanctification is similar. This account is found in Boardman's *Faith Work Under Dr. Cullis, in Boston*. After his wife's death, Cullis found himself in "bondage" spiritually, and having two desires: for purity of heart and "for an unwasting channel" for his gifts. He writes,

All along I had been reading the Bible and saying prayers from a sense of duty....Then the Lord began to open my eyes to the Scriptures as something more than a great field to be gone over piecemeal day by day, as the slave hoes a field of corn so much daily as his task. First of all he caused them to increase my sense of want, and to intensify my dissatisfaction with myself, and to sharpen my hunger and thirst for something better. Then, as I read the Bible with eyes just beginning to open to its teachings of duty and privilege, the question came up as to its being true in every part, Old and New, but the Lord led me to what has proved to be an end of all controversy in my soul on the subject, as I believe it would be in every other soul if really adopted. I took the Bible in my two hands, closed it, held it up thus, and said, 'I do and will forever, by God's grace, believe every word between these two lids, whether I understand it or not.' I have had no trouble about it from that day to this.¹⁰⁶

Scripture takes on a sacramental dimension here. The Word of God acts in

¹⁰⁴ Carrie Judd, *The Prayer of Faith*, pp. 13-14.

¹⁰⁵ Carrie Judd, *The Prayer of Faith*, pp. 18,19.

¹⁰⁶ William E. Boardman, ed. *Faith Work Under Dr. Cullis, in Boston* (Boston: Willard Tract Repository, 1874), pp. 22, 23.

Cullis to produce desires and affections toward God. Cullis finds in the Scripture the explanation and condition for his experience. When he describes his later experience of coming to believe in Jesus as Healer he writes, “For upwards of six years the command and the promise in James v. 14 and 15 have been made real to me by faith, so that hundreds of sufferers have been healed.”¹⁰⁷ There is a dynamic play between the text and experience.

A. J. Gordon’s work, *The Ministry of Healing*, is written as an apologetic to answer the question, “Have there been any miracles since the days of the apostles?” In good Wesleyan form, he lays out the argument according to the sources for theological reflection. The chapters are arranged so that they move from the testimony of scripture, to that of church history, and then to recent experience. Gordon argues for the validity of testimony: “The first miracles got themselves credited simply on human testimony, on the evidence of men and women like ourselves, who saw, and believed and reported. And when they had become established as facts, then their weight went to prove the divine origin of Christianity.”¹⁰⁸ Gordon examines texts relating to the Atonement, commission to the disciples and the prayer of faith. He then validates the ministry of healing by pointing to the “testimonies” of reason and experience. Again, there is a dynamic interaction between these sources.

Andrew Murray, the Dutch Reformed South African pastor, also begins his volume on healing, *Divine Healing*, with the testimony of his own healing. He writes that he was healed “by the mercy of God in answer to the prayer of those who see in Him ‘the Lord that healeth thee’ (Exodus 15:26).”¹⁰⁹ Though his text is also an apologetic, the purpose of which is to show that according to James 5.15 “‘the prayer of faith’” is “the means appointed by God for the cure of the sick,”¹¹⁰ much of the text is a recounting of the testimonies of those healed by Jesus or the Apostles. Exposition and instruction then follow. In discussing the exorcism of the spirit from the boy in Mark 9, he says that this story is written for sufferers who believe in divine healing but do not have faith to appropriate healing for themselves. The father of the child cried, “I believe; help my unbelief” (Mark 9.24b). Murray

¹⁰⁷ Charles Cullis, *Faith Cures; or Answers to Prayer in the Healing of the Sick*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁸ Adoniram Judson Gordon, *The Ministry of Healing--Miracles of Cure in All Ages*, pp. 202-3.

¹⁰⁹ Andrew Murray, *Divine Healing* (Springdale, PA: Whitaker House, 1982), p. 5.

¹¹⁰ Murray, p. 5.

counsels those in this position, “Faith is not money by which your healing can be purchased from the Lord. It is He who desires to awaken and develop in you the necessary faith.”¹¹¹ In this story, when the spirit is exorcised, many think that the child is dead. Murray draws a parallel between this scene and that in which a person has prayed for healing with faith and the sickness has not yet subsided. He writes, “If, therefore, your sickness does not yield at once, if Satan and your own unbelief attempt to get the upper hand, do not heed them. Cling closely to Jesus your Healer, and He will surely heal you.”¹¹² Readers are not only to see in these texts stories which occurred once in history but rather parallels of their own experience. They are to identify with these characters, following their examples and more importantly, appropriating the commands and promises to these characters as their own.

Summary

It is generally contended that these writers took a literal view of scripture, with the resulting classification of early fundamentalists.¹¹³ It is true that the adherents of the Divine Healing Movement viewed scripture literally, in the sense that they believed that the events detailed actually occurred in history. But, like their Pentecostal descendants, these writers went beyond this understanding. These events did occur and continue to occur. The promises and commands, the miracles, are perpetually played out and can be appropriated now in the life of those with faith.¹¹⁴ Judd illustrates this:

If we accept every command contained in the Bible, as a direct command to us from our Lord, and obey them all as literally as they are intended to be obeyed, we should find inestimable blessings attending such a course. Having had light and grace given me to determine to do this, I have found that it is only needful for me to make the *effort* to obey, and the strength to do so comes immediately from a higher source.¹¹⁵

The key word here is *immediately*; time and space are transcended and the

¹¹¹ Murray, p. 36.

¹¹² Murray, p. 37.

¹¹³ See for instance Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*.

¹¹⁴ Petts describes Carrie Judd Montgomery’s understanding of scripture as one in which the scriptures are simply promises to be claimed. He writes “The Bible is God’s Word and its verses are treated as ‘promised’ made to Christians....All a Christian needs to do to appropriate healing is to ‘claim’ the promise, and act in faith ignoring all contrary evidence and symptoms.” David Petts, *Healing and the Atonement* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Nottingham, 1993), p. 21. While this is an implication of her hermeneutic, this reading of her work is not without prejudice and fails to see the fuller implications.

¹¹⁵ Carrie Judd, *The Prayer of Faith*, pp. 23, 24.

sense is that the need is being met in the midst of the situation. As the effort is made to obey the Word, the strength to obey is there. The determination to make the effort comes through *light* and *grace*. Reading the word of God is not a commemorative event only; it is sacramental in that the presence of God is manifested there and then in the lives of the readers. Cullis gives a striking example of this by his use of sacramental language:

The longing of my heart during these years has been, not only to care for the sick and the orphan, but to prove to the believer that God's promises are not simply a matter of history,--not given alone to the disciples, nor His church simply to hold as theories,--but that they are to become the very life of the child of God, the 'Bread of Heaven,' given by a loving heavenly Father, for the daily and hourly sustenance of His children, "so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me."¹¹⁶

The idea of the sacramental nature of Scripture has recently been developed by John Goldingay in the following way:

As with the reception of the sacraments, however, reading of scripture does not have an automatic effect on people. The Spirit who inspires scripture has to perform the additional work of witnessing to the minds, hearts and spirits of its readers that it is God's inspired word, so that they receive it as such. In turn readers have to respond to it in trust and hope. Receiving eucharistic bread and wine as if they were ordinary food brings the recipient only physical benefit, and reading scripture as source for historical information brings only historical edification. Scripture is designed to lead people to eternal life, but it does not inevitably do so (John 5:39). Conversely receiving ordinary bread and wine cannot bring the recipient the spiritual benefit that eucharistic bread and wine conveys, and reading other books does not bring the spiritual benefit that scripture brings.¹¹⁷

This is quite different from a North American evangelical hermeneutic in which a text can only be interpreted as the first hearers would have interpreted it.

In Wesley's later years, he became concerned that the Word not be separated from the Spirit. Wesley said, "...all true faith, and the whole work of salvation, every good thought, word, and work, is altogether by the operation of the Spirit of God."¹¹⁸ Snyder concludes that for Wesley, "Salvation was accomplished as the Spirit applied the Word in the heart...."¹¹⁹ According to Randy Maddox, Wesley, too, was concerned with our *response* to God's

¹¹⁶ Cullis quoted in Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 137.

¹¹⁷ John Goldingay, *Models for Scripture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1994), p. 247.

¹¹⁸ John Wesley quoted in Snyder, *The Radical Wesley*, p. 121.

¹¹⁹ Snyder, *The Radical Wesley*, p. 121.

grace. His Word is offered freely, as are other gifts of grace, but one is “*responsible* for putting that grace to work in the transformation” of one’s life.¹²⁰

This same interplay is seen in the hermeneutic of the Divine Healing Movement. The Spirit works through individuals and through the Word. The Spirit “makes real” the Word so that faith is activated. It is the dynamic between the Spirit, the Word and experience that determines how one interprets the Word. A. B. Simpson describes this interplay:

It was necessary that Christ’s life should fulfill the Scriptures and He could not die upon the cross until He had first lived out every word that had been written concerning Him. It is just as necessary that our lives should fulfill the Scriptures and we have no right to let a single promise or command in this holy Book be a dead letter so far as we are concerned. God wants us while we live to prove in our own experience all things that have been written in this Book, and to bind the Bible in a new and living edition in the flesh and blood of our own lives.¹²¹

III. The Doctrine of Divine Healing as Provided in the Atonement

Introduction

It will be the purpose of this section to explain the theology of the Divine Healing Movement. Academic investigation of the movement has been primarily concerned with its history¹²² and place in the socio-cultural history of the nineteenth century. Its theology has been *generally* discussed in terms of the lineage of Pentecostalism¹²³ or as a tributary of the Holiness/Higher Life Movement. What has not been attempted thus far has been a thoroughgoing exposition of the Movement’s doctrine, its biblical basis, its place in relation to Wesleyanism and the practical implications of the doctrine.

It is expected that the theology of the movement will be in keeping with its Wesleyan roots. However, as has been shown, the river of heritage, though fed by the Wesleyan fountainhead, has also been fed by several significant tributaries. The water at this juncture is somewhat different than that of its original source. This will lead to a more significant departure in the

¹²⁰ Randy L. Maddox, *Responsible Grace--John Wesley’s Practical Theology* (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1994), p. 39.

¹²¹ A. B. Simpson, *The Four-fold Gospel*, p. 101.

¹²² Both Chappell and Cunningham’s works are written for this purpose.

¹²³ See Dayton and Faupel.

twentieth century Pentecostal movement.

A. B. Simpson was the first to formulate the doctrine as a part of a system of belief. This creedal statement is, of course, the Fourfold Gospel. What Simpson's writings did not adequately do was connect the doctrines or show them to be integrated¹²⁴ though other writers made better attempts at this.¹²⁵ This section will seek to move toward the establishment of that integration. This will be accomplished by first showing the doctrine of Divine Healing as a part of a later Wesleyan soteriology. It will show the implications of Palmer's "Shorter Way" teaching and later Higher Life teaching for the doctrine. Finally, it will demonstrate that the belief in Jesus as Coming King is not only the energizing fuel but is also the *telos* or purpose of the doctrine and practice.

A. Wesleyan Soteriology

*Jesus, Thou ever art the same,
To-day and yesterday are one;
The glories of Thy mighty name
For ever mark God's risen Son.*

*Ref.--For me the Lord was crucified,
For me He suffered, bled, and died;
My Jesus bore it all for me--
My sin and sickness on the tree
In Thine own body on the tree
My guilt and inbred sin were borne;
My sicknesses were laid on Thee;
For me Thy loving heart was torn.*

*Is Thine arm shorten'd by the years?
Thy promises outlaw'd by time?
Canst Thou not see the suff'rer's tears
That flow in every land and clime?*

*Is anything too hard for Thee?
O God of all the earth, canst Thou
Give to my spirit liberty,
But cannot heal my body now?*

¹²⁴ It is clear, however, that they saw them as related. Cullis' Tuesday meetings and later conventions were primarily for the promotion of holiness teaching and included prayer for the sick, only after holiness teaching had occurred.

¹²⁵ See Gordon in particular.

*Away, my fears, I come to Christ,
Soul, spirit, body, by Thy word,
Through Thee, who once was sacrificed,
Be wholly sanctified to God.¹²⁶*

The words of R. Kelso Carter's hymn "The Unchanged Healer" express well the Healing Movement's holistic understanding of the work of Christ: the work of Christ on the cross was a work for soul, spirit and body. On the cross, Jesus bore sin and sickness and, equally as important, his ministry and character are unchanged.

How did the teachers and practitioners of this movement come to this understanding of Christ's work? To answer this question, one must first look to their understanding of humanity and sin. To understand this one must look to Wesley.

For Wesley the ideas of holiness and wholeness are vitally connected. This comes from his understanding of humanity and the effects of sin and the Fall upon humanity. In Wesley's interpretation, humanity is "God's gracious creation."¹²⁷ Maddox summarizes Wesley's perception of the image of God in humanity: "Humans were originally created capable of participating in God, and when they do so participate they embody God's moral character and find fulfillment."¹²⁸ In this gracious state, all relationships of which humans are capable are right: between God and the human, those with other humans, those with the lower creatures and with ourselves. This is his holistic understanding of humanity as it is intended to be. However, as a result of sin, these relationships are severed and distorted. In postmodern terms, the human being becomes dysfunctional.

The next logical question, then, is "what is sin?" Wesley's view is understood best not in forensic terms but in therapeutic ones. That should not imply that Wesley was unable to see sin as a cause of separation from God in a juridical sense. In fact, when Wesley talked about this problem he typically used the language of guilt and forgiveness. However, when referring to the *sinner* he typically spoke in terms which incorporate the idea of sin as a plague or "loathesome [sic] leprosy." In the following quote

¹²⁶ Russell Kelso Carter, Henry Lake Gilmore, ed. *The Silver Trumpet: A Collection of New and Selected Hymns for Use in Public Worship, Revival Services, Prayer and Social Meetings, and Sunday Schools* (Philadelphia: J. J. Hood, 1889), p. 88.

¹²⁷ Maddox, p. 67.

¹²⁸ Maddox, p. 68.

Wesley integrates the two ideas:

[Our sins], considered in regard to ourselves, are chains of iron and fetters of brass. They are wounds wherewith the world, the flesh, and the devil, have gashed and mangled us all over. They are diseases that drink up our blood and spirits, that bring us down to the chambers of the grave. But considered...with regard to God, they are debts, immense and numberless.¹²⁹

Maddox has demonstrated that Wesley blended the Western and Eastern views of sin in this statement. He preferred the term “inbeing sin” to “original sin” as he felt that the former better expressed the effects of sin on the individual.¹³⁰ His focus was more on the effects of sin on the individual and that individual’s responsiveness to God’s grace, than on sin’s origin. It is this therapeutic perception that most informs his soteriology.

Throughout one’s life God works (grace) to bring the human to salvation. Wesley describes this process in his sermon, “The Spirit of Bondage and of Adoption.”¹³¹ For Wesley, salvation allows the human to once again participate in God. As Outler puts it, “we are pardoned *in order to participate*.”¹³² Wesley understood this participation as adoption, the process by which one becomes an obedient child.

Early in Wesley’s quest, *assurance* of salvation was a most important theme. It remained important, though his teaching was not as adamant in later years. In his own story, the “strangely warming” experience at Aldersgate brought the much needed assurance of forgiveness of sin. Assurance is Wesley’s way of describing the perception of the Spirit’s work in one’s life; it is *experiential*. As will be seen, this doctrine becomes supplanted by Palmer’s Shorter Way process.

Because of his Eastern Orthodox understandings of humanity and sin, Wesley’s doctrine of a further aspect of salvation, sanctification, takes a decidedly different turn than does the Reformers’ doctrine. Sanctification, inseparably linked to justification, is God’s act in which we are delivered from the plague of sin. This act may begin chronologically at salvation, but because it deals with the state of the person already pardoned, it must logically occur after justification. For Wesley, sanctification is not simply *positional*. Rather, it is an act of deliverance performed by God. This did not

¹²⁹ Wesley quoted in Maddox, pp. 73, 74.

¹³⁰ For references to Wesley’s use of the term “inbeing sin” see Maddox, p. 292-293 n. 78.

¹³¹ See Oden, pp. 277-287 for a discussion of Wesley’s “Three Stages of Human Existence”.

¹³² Maddox, p. 168.

mean that the Christian would be free from the *presence* of sin in this life (that occurs with glorification) but one can be free from its *power*.

Christian Perfection, or Entire Sanctification is the most debated and misunderstood of Wesley's doctrines, in spite of its primacy of place (Wesley considered the legacy of the Methodists to be the recovery of the doctrine of sanctification or "Christian Perfection"). Part of that misunderstanding is due to the modification of the doctrine by later Holiness adherents and part is an issue of semantics.¹³³ Though Wesley himself described the experience of sanctification in terms of a crisis and with the adjective *entire*, he did not understand the experience as instantaneous. Indeed Wesley talked of growth in grace, or "grace upon grace". Like the doctrine of assurance, this idea of process is also lost in the later nineteenth century.

B. The Four-fold Gospel

"And they cried with a loud voice, saying, salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb." Rev. vii.10

This is the cry of the ransomed around the throne when the universe is dissolving in wreck, and terror is filling the hearts of men. It is the first cry of the ransomed after they reach their home and have seen all that it means to be lost and to be saved, while the earth is reeling, and the elements are melting, and all things are quaking and trembling in the first approaches of the great catastrophe. They see behind them all the way through which the Lord has led them; down that long vista they behold the toils they have come through and the perils they have escaped, and they recognize how tenderly the grace of God has led them on and kept them safe. They see the robes and crowns that are prepared for them, and all the joy of the eternal future which is opening before them. They see all this, and then they behold Him whose hand has kept it all safely for them, and whose heart has chosen it for them. They look back upon all the past; they look forward into all the future; they look up into the face of Him to whom it was all due, and then they lift up their voices in one glad exultant cry, "Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb." This is what salvation means; this is what they have believed for; this is what He died to give them. They have it all. They are saved, and the full realization of it has come home to their heart at last.¹³⁴

Simpson begins his explanation of "Christ Our Saviour" with this

¹³³ Wesley used the term "perfection" not in the philosophical sense of "without error or flaw" but in the scriptural sense of "right motive."

¹³⁴ Simpson, pp. 7,8.

comprehensive view of all that salvation is. As Wesley viewed it, it is salvation from past penalty of sin, present power of sin and future presence of sin.

For the Healing Movement, salvation as an experience was a real possibility and the logical starting point of any discussion of healing. Cullis describes his tour of the healing home at Mannedorf where he asked Zeller if all were healed. Zeller's response was " 'No, but none die until the soul is healed.'"¹³⁵ Sin is a sickness which needs to be cured. In practice, healing homes took James' recommendation in chapter five to heart. The sick person should first confess any known sin in their life. Sickness in the body may very well be the result of sickness in the soul.

Salvation is not simply understood in spiritual terms affecting only the spirit or soul. Murray describes life in the Spirit: "It is in like manner that the Holy Spirit comes to dwell in our body. He penetrates it entirely. He animates and possess [sic] us infinitely more than we can imagine."¹³⁶

With a therapeutic understanding of sin and salvation, as had been handed down by Wesley, and a holistic anthropology such as Murray expresses, it is a short leap to a belief that Christ's work on the cross may also affect the physical body. Murray writes, "In heaven, even our bodies will have their part in salvation. Salvation will not be complete for us until our bodies enjoy the full redemption of Christ. Shouldn't we believe in this work of redemption here below? Even here on earth, the health of our bodies is a fruit of the salvation which Jesus has acquired for us."¹³⁷

Simpson discusses the source of sanctification in similar terms:

It comes through the personal indwelling of Jesus. He does not put righteousness into the heart simply, but He comes there personally Himself to live....When the tabernacle was finished the Holy Ghost came down and possessed it, and dwelt in a burning fire upon the ark of the covenant, between the cherubim. God lived there after it was dedicated to Him. So when we are dedicated to God, He comes to live in us and transfuses His life through all our being.¹³⁸

The whole of a person is transformed.

The reference point for this belief is the understanding of the provisions of the Atonement. R. Kelso Carter insisted that the doctrine of the

¹³⁵ Cullis, p. 30.

¹³⁶ Murray, p. 41.

¹³⁷ Murray, p. 23.

¹³⁸ Simpson, pp. 38-9.

atonement included “pardon from past sins, and past uncleanness [sic]; and cleansing from all traces of inherited depravity, as well as the keeping power against sin in any form, outward or inward.” He continued, “Sickness is a trace of man’s inherited depravity and is from the devil. The vicarious atonement of Christ is explicitly for all depravity, including sickness.”¹³⁹ If the atonement provides not just pardon from the penalty of sin, but power over sin, and if sickness is a result of sin in the world, then the atonement provides for healing from that sickness as well.

Several writers, including Murray,¹⁴⁰ Gordon and R. L. Stanton¹⁴¹ noted the parallelism in various texts referring to sin and sickness. Gordon interpreted these parallelisms to refer to the “two-fold ministry” of Christ “effecting constantly the souls and the bodies of men.”¹⁴² He references Isaiah 53.4 and Matthew 8.17 which refer to Christ bearing our infirmities and our sicknesses. He further illustrates this two-fold nature of Christ’s ministry by referencing Jesus’ words, “ ‘Thy sins are forgiven thee’ and ‘Be whole of thy plague.’ ”¹⁴³ Gordon goes on to demonstrate that the apostles’ ministry was also a two part one. He writes,

The commission for the world’s evangelization bids its messengers stretch out their hands to the sinner with the message, “He that believeth shall be saved,” and to “lay hands on the sick and they shall recover.” The promise by James, concerning the prayer of faith, is that it “shall save the sick, and if he has committed sins they shall be forgiven him.” This two-fold ministry of remission of sins and remission of sickness extends through the days of Christ and that of the apostles.¹⁴⁴

Judd, too, sees this parallel ministry of Jesus:

We read in St. Matt. iv: 23: “And Jesus went about all Galilee... preaching the gospel of the kingdom and healing all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease among the people.” While the tender Physician ministered to the body, taking away pain and disease, and imparting new life to the wasted frame, He was, at the same time, conferring that much more marvelous and precious gift, healing to the sinful, prostrate soul. Those who went to Jesus

¹³⁹ R. Kelso Carter, *The Atonement for Sin and Sickness; or a Full Salvation for Soul and Body* (Boston: Willard Tract Repository, 1884), pp. 12-19, 223-229 quoted in Chappell, p. 174.

¹⁴⁰ Murray notes that the word *bear* appears twice. Murray, p. 86.

¹⁴¹ R. L. Stanton, *Gospel Parallelism: Illustrated in the Healing of the Body and Soul* (Buffalo, NY: Office of Triumphs of Faith, 1883).

¹⁴² Gordon, p. 19.

¹⁴³ Gordon, p. 19.

¹⁴⁴ Gordon, p. 20.

could not have thought of asking Him to restore their souls, and leave their bodies full of disease. Even those of them who realized, as we so fully realize, that the soul-healing is vastly above anything else in importance, would not have thought of pleading for the greater boon without the less. Why *should* they, why should *we*--when Christ is able and willing to give us both?¹⁴⁵

As to the relationship between sin and sickness in the individual, Gordon cites Miriam's punishment of leprosy as an example of the cause and effect relationship between sin and sickness and concludes, "And it is obvious at once that our Redeemer cannot forgive and eradicate sin without in the same act disentangling the roots which that sin has struck into our mortal bodies."¹⁴⁶ Murray, too, links sin and sickness in commenting on John 9, but cautions, "It is quite possible that the chastisement may not be directed against any particular sin. It may be the result of the sin which weighs upon the entire human race....He [Jesus] does not say that sin and sickness are not related, but He teaches us not to accuse every sick person of sin."¹⁴⁷

Simpson agrees and analyzes the lessons one may learn from Job:

1. Man's goodness must be tested, and even in the devil's crucible must be unchallenged.
2. Satan is permitted to test and try God's people, and in so doing has, by divine permission, power over bodies and over disease and the elements of nature.
3. Sickness is one of the tests employed. It is Satan's work, but overruled by divine permission, wisdom, and love, for the ultimate good of the sufferer.¹⁴⁸

It is clear from the literature of the movement that its leaders and teachers saw a direct link between sin and sickness (whether specifically or generally as a result of the fall) and that the Atonement provided the deliverance from sin and all of its fall-out. Gordon summarizes the work of Christ:

He is the second Adam come to repair the ruin of the first. And in order to accomplish this he will follow the lines of man's transgression back to their origin, and forward to their remotest issue. He will pursue the serpent trail of sin, dispensing his forgiveness and compassion as

¹⁴⁵ Carrie Judd, *The Prayer of Faith*, p. 65.

¹⁴⁶ Gordon, p. 21. Gordon's discussions of sin and salvation here and following seem to contradict Wacker's notion that Gordon did not link healing with a Holiness soteriology. See Wacker, "The Pentecostal Tradition", pp. 517-18.

¹⁴⁷ Murray, p. 90.

¹⁴⁸ A. B. Simpson, "Divine Healing in the Book of Job" in *Triumphs of Faith* 3.19 (March 1899), p. 67.

he goes, till at last he finds the wages of sin, and dies its death on the cross; and he will follow the wretched track of disease with his healing and recovery, till in his resurrection he shall exhibit to the world the first fruits of these redeemed bodies, in which “this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality.”¹⁴⁹

For Gordon the work of Christ is inclusive “from the cross to the crown” and “progressive and increasing till it is completed.”¹⁵⁰

C. Healing via the Shorter Way

How does one obtain this work? As with the other benefits of the atonement they are obtainable only through faith. With this, Wesley, would have agreed. However, faith as understood and defined by the Holiness/Healing adherents is somewhat different than faith as understood by Wesley and the early Methodists. As has been discussed earlier, Phoebe Palmer and the National Camp Meeting Association taught that these blessings were obtainable when one consecrated himself/herself entirely or placed his/her “ ‘all on the altar.’ ”¹⁵¹ For Palmer, the altar is Christ and according to Exodus 37, “whatsoever toucheth the altar shall be holy.” Therefore, the Christian presenting him/herself as a “‘living sacrifice’ (Rom. 12:1, 2) upon the altar provided by the finished work of Christ is entirely sanctified and cleansed from all sin....Action upon a divine promise in faith constitutes the assurance that the promise is fulfilled in us.”¹⁵² Dieter has rightly analyzed that this was a synthesizing of “the act of faith and the assurance of faith into one.”¹⁵³ Palmer did emphasize that the inner witness of the Spirit, so important for Wesley, would accompany this act either immediately or at least quickly. But not to act “now” (for *now* is the time for salvation) was to fall into the sin of unbelief. Dieter points out that here is a “shifting of the focus for understanding the tension between the Wesleyan polarities of growth and crisis in relation to coming to perfection in love.”¹⁵⁴

In 1882, Carrie Judd Montgomery echoed Palmer when she wrote that coming into the “*position* of Jesus” meant to come into his “*life*” as well. Because we have been crucified with Christ, “Our part is very easy, simply to

¹⁴⁹ Gordon, p. 21.

¹⁵⁰ Gordon, p. 19.

¹⁵¹ Marsden, p. 74.

¹⁵² Dieter, “The Development of Nineteenth Century Holiness Theology”, p. 63

¹⁵³ Dieter, “The Development of Nineteenth Century Holiness Theology”, p. 63.

¹⁵⁴ Dieter, “The Development of Nineteenth Century Holiness Theology”, p. 63.

‘reckon’ that this is true because God tells us so; we have no part of the *work* to do, for that was done for us long ago, and we have only to ‘reckon’ that it *is* done, and done for us individually” [italics hers].¹⁵⁵ Warning the reader against relying on feeling, she exhorts “...we are to stand firmly on the finished work of our Atoning Sacrifice, and thus basing our belief on the solid foundation of God’s never-changing truth, we may ask and expect that the Holy Spirit will *bear witness to the truth*” [italics hers].¹⁵⁶ By viewing salvation as a position, a crucifixion based on the finished work of the cross, Judd, in a more pronounced way than Palmer before her, shifts the view of salvation from a forward process to a position or status, and in doing so, diminishes the participation of the believer. This shift leaves an indelible mark on Judd’s doctrine of divine healing. Twenty years later, William Durham, will lift up this same theme, changing the face of Pentecostalism forever.

In applying this view to the daily walk, Judd writes that she often reminded God of the covenant which she had taken by faith. Before the promises of the covenant are realized, there may be a year or more of doing nothing but praising God for the accomplishment. This she called “the praise of faith.” Finally would come the “*manifest answer*.”¹⁵⁷

The “shorter way” (consecration, faith and testimony) was the method whereby one obtained healing for the body. Sarah Mix counseled Carrie Judd first to lay aside all medications (an act of consecration) then to “claim the promise”, and to pray and then “*act faith* “. She defines this instruction, “It makes no difference how you feel, but get right out of bed and begin to walk by faith. Strength will come, disease will depart and you will be made whole.”¹⁵⁸ In other words, waiting on the experience of assurance (a perception of the Spirit’s work) is unnecessary and even constitutes a lack of faith. M. F. Barker, writing in Judd’s *Triumphs of Faith*, gives the testimony of a woman who “began *reckoning* it done, and acting her faith, also testifying ...”¹⁵⁹ Judd later describes the nature of faith, “Faith is belief, and the question is not *how much* we must believe God’s word, but whether we accept it as

¹⁵⁵ Montgomery, “Our Position in Christ”, *TOF*, 2.1 (January 1882), p.1, 2. See also H. C. Waddell, “Divine Healing and the Cross”, *TOF*, 16.4 (April 1896), pp. 73-76. Waddell emphasizes the past accomplishments of the cross. In “Divine Healing by Faith”, 16.10 (October 1896), pp. 220-222 Waddell explains that the “*attitude* of faith” according to Mark 11.24 is “ ‘Believe ye *have* received.’ ”

¹⁵⁶ *TOF*, 2.1, p. 3.

¹⁵⁷ Montgomery, “The Praise of Faith”, *TOF*, 15.5 (May 1895), pp. 97-103.

¹⁵⁸ Carrie Judd, *The Prayer of Faith*, pp. 14,15.

¹⁵⁹ M. F. Barker, “The Reckonings of Faith”, *TOF*, 15.2 (February 1895), p. 36.

true or not true; whether we deem it reliable or not reliable.”¹⁶⁰ She continues, “Having faith in God is believing His word without looking at probabilities or possibilities, as humanly viewed; without regarding natural circumstances; without considering any apparent obstacles in the way of His keeping His promises.”¹⁶¹ Murray agrees, “Faith receives healing as a spiritual grace which proceeds from the Lord, even while there is no conscious change in the body.”¹⁶²

To illustrate the way to healing, Judd discusses the healing of the woman in Mark 5: “The physical healing seems to have been given first in this instance, and it was only when she confessed the wondrous work wrought in her, that he gave the ‘peace which passeth all understanding’ to her soul.”¹⁶³ The testimony is a necessary part of the “shorter way” to obtain the blessing. In this same chapter she comments on the faith of the father of the sick child in Mark 9:

...he knew the urgency of his son’s case; he knew that the only condition was believing, and, without searching his heart to see if he found there some mysterious emotion, such as many people now understand faith to be, he at once signified his willingness to fulfill the necessary condition by *making the effort to believe....Straightway*, without waiting a moment, even while with tears he was bemoaning his lack of faith and asking Christ to help his unbelief, he made the effort of intellect and will, and said, “Lord, I believe.”...He had acted upon the determination to believe in spite of himself, in spite of his unbelief, and *as he made the effort the power was given him*.”¹⁶⁴

Clearly there is a down-playing of emotional response and an emphasis on “effort of intellect and will.” In an age where it is expected that emotions will be repressed, the way to the miraculous is through the will and intellect.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, Palmer’s use of the term “naked faith” reveals her abandonment of

¹⁶⁰ Judd, *The Prayer of Faith*, p. 41.

¹⁶¹ Judd, *The Prayer of Faith*, p. 43.

¹⁶² Murray, p. 35.

¹⁶³ Judd, *The Prayer of Faith*, p. 46.

¹⁶⁴ Judd, *The Prayer of Faith*, pp. 52-53.

¹⁶⁵ Judd’s later hesitancy to accept the Pentecostal message from Azusa, discussed in her autobiography *Under His Wings*, may be the residue of being reared in Victorian America.

emotional or affective response.¹⁶⁶

As is apparent, the Wesleyan insistence on the possibility of assurance of the Spirit's work is short-circuited by this "altar theology". Wesley's understanding of a process of sanctification is also circumvented. No longer is the experience a growth in grace, beginning at a crisis moment; it is now obtained completely in a moment. Therefore, healing of the body should be expected in the same sort of crisis experience. Judd cites the example of the cleansing of the ten lepers: "Unbelief would have prevented them from even starting until they saw that the cleansing had been accomplished, but they accepted the blessing in faith, *acting faith*, and it was soon given them in reality. 'For it came to pass that *as they went* they were cleansed'" [italics hers].¹⁶⁷

It should be noted that most of the leaders of the movement did allow for gradual healing, beginning at the time the prayer of faith is prayed. But the faith claim demands that one claim that the healing has taken place at that moment. In referencing the case of the child in Mark 9, Judd writes, "This shows that in some cases the healing in answer to prayer may not be apparent at once. The spirit of disease may, in its exit from our tormented bodies, 'rend us sore,' and prostrate us more than ever for a time. But shall this make us believe for a moment that God is failing to keep His word? as if that word which upholds the universe could fail! Let us be ready even to rejoice if increased pain and weakness are ours after prayer has been offered, feeling sure that it is the departing struggle of the disease which Jesus has rebuked."¹⁶⁸

Cullis concludes that the reason some are not healed instantly, but require more times of prayer, may be attributed to "a question or lack of faith on the part of the patient; for some seem to come, not in faith, but as a matter of experiment. God's Word says it is the '*prayer of faith*' that shall save the

¹⁶⁶ For a fascinating look at the discrepancy in Palmer's teaching and her diary which chronicles her experience see Chris Armstrong, "Ravished Heart or Naked Faith: The Kernel and Husk of Phoebe Palmer", unpublished paper read at the 1998 meeting of the Society for Pentecostal Studies meeting in conjunction with the Wesleyan Theological Society in Cleveland, Tennessee. In addition, Cunningham speculates that there is a sharing of ideas in the Northeastern United States between the Christian Science movement and the Divine Healing movement (Raymond Cunningham, *Ministry of Healing*, p. 3). Dayton affirms this position. (Dayton, p. 128)

¹⁶⁷ Judd, *The Prayer of Faith*, p. 101.

¹⁶⁸ Judd, *The Prayer of Faith*, p. 102-103.

sick.”¹⁶⁹

D. The Holy Spirit and Healing

In Carrie Judd Montgomery’s writings, especially in the journal *Triumphs of Faith*, one finds a pneumatological development of the doctrine of divine healing. Judd and her followers were concerned to emphasize that once one had been crucified with Christ, the Spirit of Life worked within to bring about healing.

Judd stresses that once one has taken their new position in Christ, the law of sin and death no longer rules but, one is now ruled by “the law of *life*, even the law of the Spirit of life, so that the glorious personage of the Holy Ghost becomes the law of life in us.”¹⁷⁰ It is this spirit which “quickens” the mortal body. Judd explains that this term means “to make full of life.” She explains that this quickening means that “His glorious life will overflow the shore lines of your spirit, and leap into your body, healing that too.”¹⁷¹ Judd warns against applying this concept of quickening the mortal body in Romans 8.11 to the resurrection. It has a present context. This interpretation is picked up time and again in Judd’s publication.¹⁷²

Nowhere is this understanding of the role of the Spirit in healing more fully explained than in the writings of Reverend H. C. Waddell appearing in *Triumphs of Faith*. Waddell begins his address “How to Receive Divine Healing” with this commentary of John 6.53-57: “If we receive these words as the living words of the Lord Jesus Christ, into our minds and hearts, we shall receive not only divine Healing, but we shall receive Divine Health, and we shall receive Him who is the Healer, the Health the Life, and the Spirit.”¹⁷³ He further explains that John 6 refers to more than taking the Lord’s Supper; it refers to partaking of the “living body and living blood of our Lord Jesus Christ through the Holy Ghost....” He encourages readers, “When you are weary and tired, and kneel down and ask God to give you of the Lord Jesus Christ’s body, and of His blood, your soul and body will be quickened; the Divine strength will come into you.” This he says happens “every moment in

¹⁶⁹ Cullis, *Faith Cures*, p. 33.

¹⁷⁰ Montgomery, “The Law of the Spirit of Life”, *TOF*, 15.2 (February 1895), p. 26. See also H. C. Waddell, “The Law of Life in the Holy Spirit”, *TOF*, 16.3 (March 1896), pp. 51-56.

¹⁷¹ *TOF*, 15.2, p. 27.

¹⁷² See *TOF*, 16.2 (February 1896), pp. 36; 16.6 (June 1896), pp. 123-124.

¹⁷³ H. C. Waddell, “How to Receive Divine Healing”, *TOF*, 16.2 (February 1896), p. 35.

our daily life.”¹⁷⁴ So this partaking is a continual process.

Waddell, having introduced the term *Divine Health*, later explains that “Divine healing is not only a gift, but a grace. As a gift it is Divine healing, as a grace it is Divine health.”¹⁷⁵ He emphasizes that healing, like sanctification, is received by faith but is maintained by “faith and obedience.” Like holiness, health should increase. This is “Life in the Spirit.” He defines health as “the Divine reign in us, the kingdom of heaven imparted to us, so that even the earthen vessels partake of the fulness and glory.”¹⁷⁶ Later, he defines it more holistically as “the harmony of life.”¹⁷⁷

For Judd and Waddell, healing has already been accomplished at the cross; this position of healing should be accepted; and once accepted, there should be an ongoing growth in health through the Spirit of Life.

E. Means of Healing

The methodology most often recommended and utilized in praying for the sick is anointing with oil, according to the instruction given in James 5. Murray, like Judd, sees the oil as symbolic of the Holy Spirit. He cites various references in the Old and New Testaments to individuals and to Jesus being anointed. Judd in a chapter titled “Anointing and Consecration” discusses the significance of anointing with oil. She sees the significance as being connected to the phrase “in the name of the Lord.” She then traces the use of anointing oil in scripture, particularly its use by the Levitical priesthood. She concludes,

Both the sacrifices and the priests were, of course, typical of Christ’s atonement and Priesthood, and the significance of the typical anointing is made clear to us in passages like the following: St. Peter says: ‘That word, I say, ye know...how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power. Who went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed of the devil, for God was with Him. The wonderful and blessed anointing of the Holy Spirit, first poured upon Jesus Christ, and then through His mediatorial office, shed forth on His faithful followers, was the precious fulfilling of the Levitical foreshadowing.’¹⁷⁸

Judd explains that the oil is a symbol, or “outward sign” of an “inward

¹⁷⁴ *TOF*, 16.2, pp. 39-40.

¹⁷⁵ Waddell, “The Holy Spirit and Divine Healing”, *TOF*, 16.6 June 1896), p. 123.

¹⁷⁶ *TOF*, 16.6, p. 125.

¹⁷⁷ Waddell, “Holiness and Divine Healing”, *TOF*, 17.2 (February 1897), p. 33.

¹⁷⁸ Judd, *The Prayer of Faith*, p. 73.

anointing which is to heal and renew the soul and body.” She links it to the act of consecration, as it was linked in the priesthood, “It is the setting apart to a holy use of the new life and strength imparted by the Holy Spirit.”¹⁷⁹ The oil is a sign of the work of the Spirit of Life in the believer. Similarly, Murray writes, “When the body is fully subjected to Christ, crucified with Him, renouncing all self-will and independence, desiring nothing but to be the Lord’s temple it is then that the Holy Spirit manifests the power of the risen Savior in the body.”¹⁸⁰ The act of anointing with oil, or being anointed with oil, is an act of obedience that is both the means to and the symbol of the healing work.

F. Healing for Service in the Kingdom

A final consideration of the healing doctrine must be made. What was the motive or purpose for healing? This consideration becomes very important as the doctrine progresses into the next century. Later examination will be given to a shift in this motivation, a shift from a focus on mission to the later twentieth century focus on “what God has for me.”

Faupel has demonstrated that the eschatology of the Pentecostal movement, the belief in the imminent return of Christ, was the compelling and motivating force behind the movement’s growth. He locates the beginnings of this eschatological hope in the latter nineteenth century when Holiness theology shifts from a post-millennial world-view to a pre-millennial one. As Faupel describes this ethos, “Adherents felt compelled to announce the ‘end of the age’ as a warning to the nations and thereby gained a renewed impetus for world mission.”¹⁸¹ Faupel goes on to show how this expectation led to the belief that the gift of tongues would be restored to the church in order to carry the message to the nations. But how did this “renewed impetus for world mission” affect the Holiness/Healing Movement’s soteriology and therefore its beliefs regarding healing of the body?

When confronted with the testimonies of those who claim healing, one is at once impressed with the fact that those healed had an immediate sense of their need to serve the Kingdom of God. Indeed, it is Judd’s healing that propels her into her ministry. Cullis reprints a letter from a woman healed of

¹⁷⁹ Judd, *The Prayer of Faith*, p. 75.

¹⁸⁰ Murray, p. 41.

¹⁸¹ Faupel, p. 114.

neuralgia which closes with these words: "I can now say I am entirely well, and engaged in arduous work, often among the sick, losing whole nights of rest. God sustains me, and gives me great yearnings for the souls and bodies of the suffering and uses me in ministering to them. 'My mouth shall speak the praise of the Lord; and let all flesh bless His holy name forever and ever.'"¹⁸²

Judd states, "It is very noticeable that all who experience this Divine healing are filled with the desire to be useful in the Master's vineyard. Timid souls who have been either afraid or ashamed to speak for Christ, are ready, after His healing touch, to proclaim to all the beauty of their Saviour."¹⁸³ She supports this claim both with the testimony of a woman healed and with the scripture found in Matthew 8, "And when Jesus was come into Peter's house, He saw his wife's mother, touched her hand, and the fever left her, and she arose and ministered unto them."¹⁸⁴ Judd discusses this aspect of healing in a chapter titled "Service for the Master" which is followed by the final chapter, "The True Church Militant." This chapter ends with a prayer which is a quotation of Acts 4. 29, 30: " ' And now, Lord...grant unto thy servants, that with all boldness they may speak Thy word, *by stretching forth Thine hand to heal*; and that signs and wonders may be done *by the Name of Thy holy child Jesus*."¹⁸⁵ Judd includes the ministry of healing as a part of the mission of the church, as interpreted by the apostles. Gordon concurs: "We must believe, however, that if God really stretched forth his hand to heal in these instances, it was for the furtherance of the gospel as the chief purpose. Miracles are the signs and not the substance of Christianity. They are for the confirmation of the Word, and not merely for the comfort of the body."¹⁸⁶ Simpson explains how healing miracles point to Christ's second coming: "It is God's answer to the infidelity of to-day. Man may try to reason it down with the force of his intellect. God meets it with this unanswerable proof of His power."¹⁸⁷ It is, therefore, "one of the signs of the age."¹⁸⁸

Murray contends that healing testifies to the world of the power of redemption. This is the reason it is a part of the commission to the apostles

¹⁸² Cullis, pp. 17-18.

¹⁸³ Judd, *The Prayer of Faith*, p. 144.

¹⁸⁴ Matthew 8.14,15 quoted in Judd, p. 143.

¹⁸⁵ Judd, *The Prayer of Faith*, p. 163.

¹⁸⁶ Gordon, p. 125.

¹⁸⁷ Simpson, p. 64.

¹⁸⁸ Simpson, p. 64.

and the church. He writes, "It is also His will that we exercise and confirm our faith, to make us prove the power of redemption in the body as well as in the soul. The body is part of our being. Even the body has been saved by Christ. Therefore it is in our body that our Father wills to manifest the power of redemption, and to let men see that Jesus lives."¹⁸⁹ In commenting on Acts 3.12, he says, healing is "...to be a proof of the power of Jesus, a witness in the eyes of men of what He is, proclaiming His divine intervention, and attracting hearts to Him."¹⁹⁰

A final dimension of the missionary aspect of the doctrine of divine healing concerns the idea of being fit for service in the Kingdom. Stockmayer contended that if humanity is to glorify God and fulfill God's purpose, then health of body and mind is a necessity. He wrote, "This is the essence of sanctification or Christian Holiness, that man be at the free and absolute disposal of God, both spiritually and bodily."¹⁹¹ Similarly, Murray contends, "If they [believers] understood better that God requires His children to be 'sanctified and meet for the Master's use' they would not be surprised to see Him giving healing and renewed strength to those who have learned to place all their members at His disposal, willing to be sanctified and employed in His service by the Holy Spirit."¹⁹²

Summary--

In conclusion, the doctrine of Divine Healing in the Atonement was understood as part and parcel of salvation. As a provision of the Atonement, and as a part of Christ's "two-fold" ministry, healing is a necessary ingredient of what it means to be holy and whole. It is a gift of God's grace, to which the person responds in faith. Healing comes as a result of consecration and sanctification, as a result of faith and the work of the Spirit in the life of the individual. Finally, healing is a part of the mission of the church and accompanies the preaching of the Gospel as a sign of Christ's redemption in the body.

¹⁸⁹ Murray, p. 24.

¹⁹⁰ Murray, p. 27.

¹⁹¹ Stockmayer quoted in Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 50.

¹⁹² Murray, pp. 58-59.

He Healeth Me

*He healeth me, O bless His name!
I want to spread abroad His fame;
From dread disease He sets me free,
The Lord, my healer, strong is He.*

*Cho.--He healeth me, He healeth me
By power divine He healeth me;
He healed the sick in Galilee,
And now by faith He healeth me.*

*He healeth me, my simple faith
Believes the word that Jesus saith;
And takes the place of ardent hope,
Believes the Lord will raise me up.*

*He healeth me, I touch for cure
The border of His garment pure;
And virtue through my being flows,
A healing balm for nature's woes.*

*He healeth me, as when of yore
Their sins and sicknesses He bore;
Nor has He lost His power and skill
Our blessed Christ is living still.*

*He healeth me, O oft I sought
This healing power but found it not;
but now I trust with all my soul,
and now thro' faith He makes me whole.*

--Manie Payne Ferguson¹⁹³

IV. The Healing Home: An Ecclesiological Model

In examining the history of the Divine Healing Movement, it has been established that the Movement was inter-denominational, transatlantic and operated in a variety of contexts. The Movement employed a variety of means and persons. Indeed, in the tradition of renewal movements, women and men, clergy and laity were involved at levels of leadership. Some of the leaders were able to work within the confines of their church, in effect bringing renewal to their church or denomination (i.e.- Andrew Murray). Others did not find the freedom to minister within the church structure of

¹⁹³ Manie Payne Ferguson, "He Healeth Me" in Carter and Gilmour, p. 91.

which they had been a part, and were forced, or in some cases simply chose, to move outside of those barriers, forming independent ministries, some of which later became institutional structures (i.e.-The Christian and Missionary Alliance). Some, like Carrie Judd Montgomery, seemed to be particularly free to move from one structure to another as her own renewal experience evolved.

The Movement utilized forums familiar to its adherents. These forums had already been established, tried and proven, by the Holiness Movement and the New Measures Revival Movement. The weekly meeting in homes, like those started by Phoebe Palmer and her sister Sarah Lankford in their New York homes, was the venue used by Cullis in Boston. These meetings offered instruction in holiness and healing as well as offering a time of prayer for the sick. Cullis' meeting grew to the point that a chapel had to be constructed to hold the hundreds who attended on a weekly basis. Simpson held meetings in New York on Fridays but from the beginning these were more in keeping with the evangelistic meetings held in larger auditoriums. Yearly conventions, modeled after the conventions and camp meetings promoted by the National Camp-Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness and Boardman's European convention, were conducted by Cullis and by Simpson.

These structures provided a place for instruction and for prayer. They mirrored both the mass meetings of Wesley and Whitefield as well as the more intimate Methodist class meeting. However, these para-church structures, could do little more than "promote healing" (and this was a stated goal); they could not offer on-going care or accountability for the sick. That type of intimacy and accountability could only take place in smaller group settings, and should take place within the church.¹⁹⁴ The need for that type of accountability and intimacy was met through the structure which figures most prominently in the Movement, the healing home.

This model, imported from Europe, was reproduced all over the Northeastern United States and later in the Midwest and Western parts of the country. By 1887, R. Kelso Carter identified over thirty such homes in

¹⁹⁴ The National Camp Meeting Association was formed for the purpose of recovering the "testimony" aspect of the Methodist class meetings which had been lost in the American Methodist Episcopal Church. However, the large scale structure of a camp meeting could not recover this aspect. See Schneider, "A Conflict of Associations: The National Camp-Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness Versus the Methodist Episcopal Church," pp. 268-283.

America.¹⁹⁵ Many of these homes were operated by those who had received healing through Cullis' ministry. The homes operated under such names as Faith Rest (Carrie Judd's home in Buffalo), Berachah Home in New York City (Simpson's home), and the Four-fold Gospel Mission in Troy, New York.

To understand the model, it is necessary to examine the prototype, Mannedorf in Switzerland, founded by Dorothea Trudel and later operated by Samuel Zeller. Cullis visited the home in 1873 and describes the visit in *Faith Cures*. Cullis found there a resident care facility with about 150 persons ("of different nationalities, these all waiting upon the Lord for healing")¹⁹⁶ in residence. A chapel service was held every morning and prayer meetings on alternate evenings. At 5:00 in the afternoon Zeller met with the sick, praying for their healing and anointing them with oil. The home operated on a minimum charge, but was primarily dependent upon gifts. Cullis remarked, "There is one marked feature of the work---that not unfrequently [sic] the soul is saved and then the body cured."¹⁹⁷

Cullis opened the first healing home in America in 1882¹⁹⁸ the purpose of which was to "provide an environment which was congenial and helpful to those 'who came with weak faith or want of knowledge.'"¹⁹⁹ Cullis continued his medical treatment and provided medical care to those in the healing home if they so desired.

As Carrie Judd's testimony was publicized and her publication *Triumphs of Faith* gained a following, people began to come to her parents' home in Buffalo, New York in order to receive prayer and instruction from Carrie. She opened a healing home, "Faith Rest" which was to be "a place of rest where weary ones might learn more of the Great Physician's power and willingness to renew their souls, and to heal their suffering bodies."²⁰⁰

Boardman's home, "Bethshan" [House of Rest], in London was a place where those seeking to know Christ as " 'healer in spirit, soul and body' could withdraw from the ordinary environment of daily life and concentrate upon communion with God."²⁰¹ The home aimed at bringing people to faith

¹⁹⁵ Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 156.

¹⁹⁶ Cullis, p. 29.

¹⁹⁷ Cullis, p. 28.

¹⁹⁸ Cullis had been operating a Consumptives Home for a number of years, based on Muller's faith home model. Here he practiced medicine in a Christian environment, but it was only after touring Mannedorf that he began to pray for the sick to be healed according to James 5.

¹⁹⁹ Cullis quoted in Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 140.

²⁰⁰ Carrie Judd Montgomery, *Under His Wings*, p. 83.

²⁰¹ Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 204.

by teaching the Biblical truth regarding holiness and healing. One resident wrote, “ ‘in most cases [of healing] time is needful in order to learn what God’s Word promises, and rightly to understand what the cause and purpose of the disease really are, and which the conditions and what [is] the meaning of healing. The stay in such a Home, with all its surroundings, helps to make this matter plain, and to strengthen faith.’ ”²⁰² It was at Bethshan that Andrew Murray both came to believe in the doctrine of divine healing and experienced it.

The question for this context is what can the healing home model contribute to an understanding of the Healing Movement’s theology? One obviously missing element of the Four-fold Gospel as a creed is a statement about the church and its nature. Simpson was in flux about his own understanding of the church. He left the Presbyterian church, founded an independent tabernacle in New York City, then formed two separate alliances, The Christian Alliance and The Missionary Alliance, which were later merged and eventually became a denominational structure. Others, notably Judd, were also very fluid in their associations with established churches. But the Divine Healing Movement was making a statement about the nature of the church. It was an implicit statement rather than an explicit one. The healing home was that statement.

The Holiness and Revival Movements had already discovered that the essential elements of fellowship and accountability had been lost in the institutionalization of Methodism. They identified the need for the recovery of “testimony.” It must be remembered that testimony is the third step in Palmer’s “Shorter Way.” The Camp Meeting structure did not recover this necessity. But when one opens his/her home²⁰³ to others who are struggling in their faith and provides care and prayer as well as accountability to them, then some of what Wesley had incorporated into his class meetings, bands and societies is being recovered. Because the institutional church model of which these men and women had been a part could not support the *koinonia* which is a part of spiritual renewal, much less the doctrine of divine healing with its accompanying practices of laying hands on the sick and anointing with oil, they found a model which would. In doing so, they were able to

²⁰² Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, pp. 204-5.

²⁰³ Many of these homes actually began in the home of the minister and his/her family. Most notable are the homes operated by Simpson and by Judd.

recover a part of Wesley's practical theology.

Boardman called his home a "nursery for faith."²⁰⁴ A nursery is a place where nurture takes place, where growth is insured or, in Wesley's terminology, a place where one can experience "grace upon grace" and where a person can respond in faith to that grace.

James 5.14, 15 was the cornerstone of the Movement and these homes took these scriptures as the prescription for how a church should function. In the healing home, a sick, weak or sinful person could confess his/her sin, call for elders to anoint him/her with oil and come to the point of being able to pray the prayer of faith. The healing of the soul was primary. Here, one could find wholeness and holiness.

As the century came to a close and the doctrine became a fixed part of the churches that were birthed out of this Movement, the Healing Homes were not as common. They were not as necessary because there were churches which functioned according to the James 5 prescription. The Pentecostal Revival carried the healing message in its wake around the world and Pentecostal churches themselves became "healing homes" and "nurseries of faith."

Excursus 1: John Alexander Dowie

When discussing the persons who are responsible for the development of the doctrine of divine healing in America, John Alexander Dowie is often cited as a leading proponent. Some have apparently gone so far as to say that he is the "major source of Pentecostal doctrines of healing."²⁰⁵ While it is true that Dowie is regarded as the most popular of the healing advocates of the nineteenth century,²⁰⁶ both his theology and practice place him in a different trajectory. Dowie distanced himself from the other players in the Divine Healing Movement, and they, in turn, distanced

²⁰⁴ Boardman quoted in Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 205.

²⁰⁵ See Dayton's assessment of this view (p. 136).

²⁰⁶ Chappell cites Kenneth Mackenzie, an associate of Simpson, as identifying Dowie as "unquestionably the apostle of healing in his day." Chappell sees Dowie as the Oral Roberts of this period. He cites Harrell's identification of Dowie as "the father of healing revivalism." Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, pp. 284-285.

themselves from him.²⁰⁷ This excursus will give a brief overview of three of those differences: his dualistic worldview, his healing theology and means of healing.

1. Worldview

Unlike his Wesleyan counterparts, who saw themselves on the side of God in the struggle against the world, the flesh and the devil, Dowie held to an extreme dualism. This radical understanding is called “The Two Chains” by Dowie. Simply explained, Dowie proposed that there were two ways, or chains. One emanated from Christ, bringing “salvation, healing, life and ultimately heaven”, while the other originated in Satan, resulting in “sin, disease, death and hell.” The former, he designated “The Chain of Good”; the latter, “The Chain of Evil.”²⁰⁸ He could also speak in causal terms: Holiness as a cause resulted in “Health, Eternal Life and Heaven” while Sin as a cause resulted in “Disease, Death and Hell.”²⁰⁹ In a rather poetic treatment of this concept Dowie explains,

God’s way of Healing is Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day and forever.

Your way of Disease is presided over by the devil and the doctor, the druggist and the surgeon, a failure yesterday, to-day and forever.

God’s River of Life is flowing from His Throne, clear as crystal, with the Tree of Life in the midst, and the Leaves of the Tree are for the Healing of the Nations.

Your River of Death is flowing from Hell, foul and fetid with the breath of corruption, dark as the night of sin can make it, with the Tree of Death in the midst, and every leaf is a deadly poison and all its fruits are as apples of Sodom turning to ashes and bitterness and despair, until the foul waters, reeking with poison and blood, close above your despairing cry of agony.²¹⁰

Dowie preached,

Now friends, the promise of God is that His people shall be completely delivered from the power of Satan, and sin, and disease, and death,

²⁰⁷ Chappell notes, “It should also be observed that unlike most members of the early divine healing movement, Dowie frequently and publicly condemned other propagators of the doctrine such as A. J. Gordon, Maria Woodworth-Etter, R. A. Torrey, and A. B. Simpson whenever he ascertained practical or theological disagreements between himself and them.” (Chappell, *Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 287).

²⁰⁸ See *LH*, 1.3 (September 14, 1894), p. 35 for an illustration and explanation of “The Two Chains.”

²⁰⁹ Chappell, “Healing Movements”, p. 367.

²¹⁰ *LH*, 3.5 (November 27, 1896), p. 66.

and hell; shall be set free in spirit, and in soul, and in body; (Amen) shall be filled with His own omnipotent power, and shall GO FORTH IN HIS STRENGTH TO CRUSH DOWN THE DEVIL, and make iniquity, and bad, wicked designs just so much ashes beneath our feet.²¹¹

This simplification of the origins of disease forced Dowie into the notion that the origin of *all* sickness was the Devil. In fact, according to Faupel, Dowie believed that sickness held the church in its grip because of erroneous teaching that sickness originated with God, as judgment or as an instrument of perfection. Sickness was an indicator that there was sin in the believer.²¹² In a recurring column, “God’s Way of Healing,” Dowie emphasizes,

Disease can never be God’s Will. It is the Devil’s work, consequent upon Sin, and it is impossible for the work of the Devil ever to be the Will of God. Christ came to “destroy the works of the Devil,” and when He was here on earth He “healed every sickness and every disease,” and all these diseases are expressly declared to have been the “oppression of the Devil.” (1 John 3:8, Matthew 4:23 and Acts 10:38.)²¹³

Dowie’s commitment to this dualistic view is also evidenced in his hermeneutic. Chappell notes that though his Christian Catholic Church held that scripture was infallible, inspired and sufficient, he was free to interpret the text, making adjustments which were in line with his views. Chappell cites instances from Dowie’s works in which he insists that texts had been “wrongly translated.”²¹⁴ In particular, Dowie held that God could not have sent plagues upon the Egyptians,²¹⁵ that God would not order Abraham to sacrifice his son²¹⁶ and that God would not “consign his creation to an everlasting hell”, going so far as to propose that even Satan would be saved.²¹⁷ Faupel shows that Dowie based much of his understanding of Satan’s work in the earth on his reliance on the apocryphal work, Enoch, though Dowie did not consider

²¹¹ *LH*, 3.3.(November 13, 1896), p. 43.

²¹² Faupel, p. 123.

²¹³ *LH*, 2.39 (July 17, 1896), p. 624 and in 2.46, p. 733. The column appears in German in *LH*, 2.43 (August 14, 1896), p. 686 and again in 2.46 (September 11, 1896), p. 722 and in French in 2.44, p. 703.

²¹⁴ Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 326.

²¹⁵ Dowie, “Permission and Commission,” *A Voice from Zion* I (February 1897), p. 7 cited by Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 326.

²¹⁶ Dowie, *LH*, X (March 29, 1902), pp. 986-987 and X (April 5, 1902), p. 1033 cited by Chappell, *The Divine Healing Movement in America*, p. 326.

²¹⁷ Dowie, *LH*, XII (February 21, 1903), pp. 556-557; XII (April 18, 1903), pp. 817-819, cited by Chappell, p. 326.

the work to be canonical in its present condition.²¹⁸ Dowie, then, could use a theologically driven discrimination in the reading of texts, making his a quite different hermeneutical method than that of his contemporaries in the Healing Movement.

2. *Instantaneous Healing*

According to Chappell, Dowie's dissimilarity with the Healing Movement is seen in his assertion that all healing would be instantaneous.²¹⁹ This contention by Chappell should be qualified by the fact that at least one discourse on healing by Mrs. A. M. Hicks, appearing in the February 2, 1895 edition of *Leaves of Healing*, claims that "some find healing slowly," according to their faith. However, the implication is that the right kind and amount of faith will result in healing.²²⁰ Dowie vehemently maintained, "All His acts of healing were 'immediate' as they are still."²²¹ His later commentary on the instantaneous healing of a man whose eyes had been scalded by steam are revealing: "I decline to suppose that I am going to get to a place where I shall fulfil God's conditions and yet He will not answer me; because to do that will be to suppose that God can lie....*If you fulfil God's conditions, GOD MUST FULFILL HIS PROMISES* [italics and capitalization his]".²²²

Leaves of Healing is replete with testimonies of instantaneous healings in Dowie's meetings at Zion or in the Healing Home there.²²³ Dowie, in sermons, frequently recalled such healings from his earlier ministry in Australia.²²⁴

After describing the instantaneous healing of a nineteen year old young man who was "in the last stages of consumption," Dowie explains how faith works in healing, using the analogs of the telephone and the telegraph. Dowie instructs, "The cry of faith reaches God, and reaches just as quickly as it reaches God the one for whom you pray [sic]."²²⁵

²¹⁸ Faupel, p. 128.

²¹⁹ Chappell, "Healing Movements", p. 367.

²²⁰ *LH*, 1.20 (February 2, 1895), p. 311.

²²¹ *LH*, 1.4 (September 21, 1894), p. 54.

²²² *LH*, 1.21 (February 8, 1895), p. 325.

²²³ See *LH*, 1.16 (January 4, 1895), pp. 243-247; 3.1 (October 30, 1895), pp. 1,2; 3.6 (December 4, 1896), pp. 81-82 for examples.

²²⁴ See *LH*, 1.22 (February 15, 1895), pp. 341, 342.

²²⁵ *LH*, 2.52 (October 23, 1896), pp. 826, 827.

3. ***“Doctors, Drugs and Devils”***

Finally, as a result of this radical view of healing, Dowie insisted that the use of any medical means was unacceptable.²²⁶ In fact, Dowie perceived the medical community as being used by Satan to keep the church in bondage to sickness.²²⁷ Dowie exhorted, “Get healed! Get healed! The Church of God cannot do this great work of destroying sin and sickness if it is in the hospital. How can the Church of God do it if one-half of the church is in the hospital, and the other half is attending to them....”²²⁸

Dowie argued that the medical practice was not even a science, citing similar assessments by a professor from the University of Edinburgh, Dr. Oliver Wendel Holmes, “Sir Astley Cooper, physician to Queen Victoria”²²⁹ and Dr. Schweninger, “Prince Bismarck’s doctor.”²³⁰ He decries the “miserable substitutes” for divine healing such as “the allopath, the hydropath, the psychopath, the homeopath and all the other paths that lead to the grave.”²³¹

For Dowie, medicines, braces, crutches and other apparatus were “instruments of torture.” Dowie proudly displayed these on the wall of the tabernacle at Zion as trophies of sorts. *Leaves of Healing* described this display as “God’s Handwriting on the Walls of Zion.” The paper explained, “The handwriting on the walls of Belshazzar’s palace was a Message of Doom, and so is this; but it is of Doom to doctor’s drugs, surgeon’s knives, and all the cruel torturing arts of the surgical instrument makers.”²³² Another article describing these trophies is titled “Captured by the Enemy.”²³³ The picture which is printed of this remarkable display reveals that the trophies are displayed under a banner which reads “Christ is All.”²³⁴ Testimonies printed in the periodical documented the near fatal experiences of those who

²²⁶ As Chappell has pointed out, the title of Dowie’s tract on means of healing was quite revealing: “Doctors, Drugs and Devils: or, The Foes of Christ the Healer.” See Chappell, “Healing Movements”, p. 367 and *LH*, 2.40 (July 24, 1896), p. 637.

²²⁷ Faupel, p. 124.

²²⁸ *LH*, 3.3 (November 13, 1896), p. 43.

²²⁹ *LH*, 1(no number) (August 31, 1894), p. 5.

²³⁰ *LH*, 3.5 (November 17, 1896), p. 79. See also “Doctors and Medicine” 1.4 (September 21, 1894), p. 62 where Dowie quotes numerous medical professionals who raise questions with regard to the speculative nature of the medical practice.

²³¹ *LH*, 1(no number) (August 31, 1894), p. 5.

²³² “God’s Handwriting on the Walls of Zion,” *LH*, 2.39 (July 17, 1896), p. 609.

²³³ *LH*, 1 (no number) (August 31, 1894), p. 15.

²³⁴ *LH*, 1(no number) (August 31, 1894), p. 16.

allowed doctors to operate or to prescribe medicine.²³⁵

An account of the “morning meeting” of 27 September 1896 quotes Dowie as saying, “It is absurd to say that you believe in divine healing when you send out medical missionaries, and boxes of allopathic and homeopathic medicine.” He goes on to criticize the Christian Alliance for its inconsistency in preaching divine healing as “God’s perfect gift” and medicine as “God’s good gift.” He explains that these medicines are made from “noxious weeds that have cursed the earth because of sin...It is a devil in solution.”²³⁶

While it may be possible to argue, as Dayton has, that Dowie is “speaking out of the broader Holiness ethos”, while having “extracted” healing from its “soteriological rooting in redemption”, and that his shifting of healing becoming a manifestation of Pentecostal “power” is the precursor to Pentecostal understandings of healing,²³⁷ as will be seen, this removal of healing theology from its soteriological moorings does not seem to correlate with the healing theologies as they are found in either the Wesleyan or Finished Work branches of the Pentecostal tradition.

²³⁵ See *LH*, 2.39 (July 17, 1896), p. 610 and *LH*, 3.1 (October 30, 1895), p. 1 for examples.

²³⁶ *LH* 2.49 (October 2, 1896), p. 772.

²³⁷ Dayton, p. 137.

Chapter 3

Healing in Early Pentecostalism: Theological Analysis

Introduction--

Part 3 will examine theologies of healing within the early, formative years of the Pentecostal movement. An examination of the earliest, published writings of Pentecostals will reveal beliefs and practices regarding divine healing.

The movement's history has been well-documented, first by eyewitnesses¹ and later in scholarly histories.² Official denominational histories also recount the Pentecostal origins of these various streams.³ However, perhaps the best history of the movement is the ongoing record kept through newspapers and magazines published weekly or monthly by the leaders within the revival. An exhaustive theological analysis of the movement based on this material has not been attempted. The survey of the periodical literature produced in the era will be representative of the theology and practice found within six groups of early Pentecostals in America.

Six major publications, as well as numerous sermons and tracts, of the early movement will be examined in order to determine the beliefs and practices of this early period of Pentecostalism. These publications represent two of the major streams found in the movement: those which continued in the Wesleyan-Holiness trajectory and those which identified with William Durham's Finished Work theology.

¹ For example see Frank Bartleman, *How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, 1925), Mrs. M. B. Woodworth Etter, *Marvels and Miracles; Signs and Wonders* (Indianapolis, 1922), Agnes N. O. La Berge, *What God Hath Wrought--Life and Work of Mrs. Agnes N. O. La Berge, Nee Miss Agnes N. Ozman* (Chicago: Herald Publishing Company, 1921) and A. J. Tomlinson, *The Last Great Conflict* (Cleveland, TN: Walter E. Rodgers Press, 1913).

² See R. M. Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1979), W. J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movements in the Churches* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972) and Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition--Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1997).

³ For example see Joseph E. Campbell, *The Pentecostal Holiness Church, 1898-1948* (Franklin Springs, GA: Publishing House of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, 1951), Charles W. Conn, *Like A Mighty Army--Definitive Edition* (Cleveland, TN: Pathway Publishing House, 1996), William Menzies, *Anointed to Serve: The Story of the Assemblies of God* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1971), and Vinson Synan, *The Old-Time Power: A History of the Pentecostal Holiness Church* (Franklin Springs, GA: 1973), et al.

Part I: Identification of the Movement

I. Definition

To define Pentecostalism nearly one hundred years after its Azusa Street birth is to attempt to grasp a dynamic and rapidly growing movement. Most attempts focus on phenomena associated with the revival ethos; some more recent attempts have focused on doctrinal distinctives⁴ or spirituality.⁵ These discussions have concluded that the movement cannot simply be defined in terms of glossolalia, which is only one aspect of Pentecostalism. The most helpful of the recent suggestions is that of Steven J. Land in which he defines Pentecostalism under the rubric of “the five-fold gospel”: Jesus is Savior, Sanctifier, Spirit-Baptizer, Divine Healer, and Soon Coming King. Land identifies five theological motifs which are at the heart of the movement’s theology:

1. Justification by faith in Christ.
2. Sanctification by faith as a second definite work of grace.
3. Healing of the body as provided for all in the atonement.
4. The pre-millennial return of Christ.
5. The baptism in the Holy Spirit evidenced by speaking in tongues.⁶

Indeed, testimonies regarding each of these doctrinal statements, or experiences associated with each, can be found throughout the earliest periodical literature. For the purposes of this thesis, I will adopt the argument of Land that adherence to these five cardinal doctrines and in this particular configuration constituted adherence to Pentecostalism, while granting, with Dayton, that the majority of Pentecostals now adhere to a “four-fold gospel”.⁷

Pentecostals understand themselves to be “in the way”, “on the way to Glory,” or “in the light.” Each of the experiences provided by grace are steps along the way. Therefore, this doctrine constitutes a way of life or a way of being. Land explains,

⁴ See Dayton’s discussion of Faupel’s categories in *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, p. 18.

⁵ Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*.

⁶ Land, p. 18.

⁷ Contra Donald N. Bowdle, it is noteworthy that these are the defining statements found throughout the literature, even in early statements of faith, and not those “five points of fundamentalism” which later were adopted by some within the movement. See Donald N. Bowdle, “Holiness in the Highlands”, *Christianity in Appalachia: Profiles in Regional Pluralism* (Bill Leonard, ed.; Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1999).

The journey toward God was a journey with God in God. It was walking toward the Father with Jesus in the Spirit. But this journey was also fundamentally a journey into God: a kind of mystical, ascetical journey which was ingredient in knowing God and going further, deeper and higher. To know God was to be directed by God's will, motivated by God's love and strengthened by God's power.⁸

The Pentecostal movement, then, can essentially be defined as that movement which holds to the five-fold gospel in belief and experience. Pentecostals, by their own definition, are those who are living "in the way" or "in the light." This distinction of being is important for an understanding of how Pentecostals believe and practice divine healing.

II. Time-frame

Though the roots of Pentecostalism go back at least to Wesley, the Pentecostal revival became a global one from April, 1906 onward. The Azusa Street Revival lasted for approximately three years and by the end of that period, similar Pentecostal meetings were being conducted in Scandinavia, England, Germany, Italy, South Africa, Argentina and Brazil, as well as all over the rest of North America. Before the Azusa Street meetings, similar occurrences had already been recorded in other parts of the world and in America in at least two places: Cherokee County, North Carolina in 1896, where reportedly up to 100 people spoke in tongues and Topeka, Kansas in 1901, where Agnes Ozman, a student at Charles Parham's Bible school spoke in tongues.⁹ The movement has primarily been seen as a twentieth-century phenomenon.

Hollenweger contends that the "heart" of the movement's spirituality can be found in the first ten years.¹⁰ Ideally, then, a study of the movement's theology, would center on that ten-year window.

Because of the methodology employed in this research, the window through which early Pentecostal healing theology will be examined, will be more open-ended, with those ten years at the core. The reasons for this will be seen.

⁸ Land, p. 76.

⁹ See "The Rise of Pentecostalism-The Christian History Timeline", *ChrH* 58 (Spring 1998), pp. 26, 27.

¹⁰ Hollenweger, "Pentecostals and the Charismatic Movement", p. 551.

III. Primary Sources

By examining the periodical literature of the early Pentecostals, one is able to assess not only the doctrinal teaching propagated by the editors (and in some cases, denominational leaders), but also the beliefs and practices of the “grass roots” adherents. These periodicals are replete with accounts of revival services and testimonies “from the field” and even obituaries allowing the reader to ascertain what the movement as a whole believed and practiced. The weekly or monthly publications were produced for popular consumption by the leaders and participants in the Pentecostal revival.

The advantage that these periodicals offer the researcher is that of immediacy of effect. These writings are not the product of years of theological reflection but are, rather, the reporting of occurrences nearly immediately as they happen and explanations offered by leaders of the movement. By examining this literature, the reader has the opportunity to look through a window at the movement as it develops on a weekly basis.

Hollenweger has established that Pentecostalism comes from an African root. He identifies several characteristics of this root system, among them “orality of liturgy”, “narrative of theology and witness” and “inclusion of dreams and visions into public and personal worship”.¹¹ By reading this early Pentecostal journalism, one is able to “hear” the testimony of those participating in the revival, as they participate in it.¹²

Another important aspect of this type of first-hand view lies in the fact that in this early literature one hears the voices of the masses who shaped the spirituality of the movement. They are multi-racial and multi-cultural, from differing age groups and of both genders. This aspect is at best hidden in later Pentecostal writings; at worst, it is lost.

The editors and authors of these publications were, for the most part, the marginalized and the disinherited of society, whether they were the sons and daughters of slaves or Appalachian farmers. Most had no real educational opportunities. Through these publications one is able to identify and assess the theology of those who had no other theological voice.

Six main bodies of periodical literature will be assessed, each

¹¹ Hollenweger quoted in Land, p. 52.

¹² For more insight into the role of testimony in Pentecostal spirituality see Land. Also see Cheryl Bridges Johns, *Pentecostal Formation: A Pedagogy Among the Oppressed* JPTS 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993) and R. Jerome Boone, “Community and Worship: The Key Components of Pentecostal Christian Formation”, *JPT* 8 (1996), pp. 129-142.

representing a different stream or stage of American Pentecostalism in its formational years. These will be grouped according to the soteriology subscribed to by the publishers.

In the Wesleyan-Pentecostal stream, the first of these is *The Apostolic Faith*, published by the Apostolic Faith Movement at 312 Azusa Street in Los Angeles, California. The first issue was published in September 1906. The editors note, "As we have no paid subscription list we are not entitled to second-class postage rates. Papers will be sent to any address in quantities needed, as the Lord furnishes the means."¹³ The monthly paper was four pages in length, with an exception in 1907, when the February and March issues were combined into one eight page paper. The paper was published in Los Angeles until May 1908. After that it was published by Florence Crawford in Portland, Oregon.

A second publication to be examined is *The Bridegroom's Messenger*, published in Atlanta, Georgia. The four page paper began as a monthly publication on October 1, 1907. In December 1907 it became a bi-monthly publication. The masthead of the journal as well as its name revealed the intended purpose. The masthead carried a partial quote from the parable of the ten virgins, "While the Bridegroom tarried, they all slumbered and slept. And at midnight there was a cry made: Behold, the Bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him."¹⁴ The paper was edited and published by Gaston B. Cashwell as an attempt to make Pentecostals in the southern United States aware of what was happening elsewhere in the movement and to unite them. In 1908, Cashwell resigned as editor and Elizabeth A. Sexton took the post.

One of the prominent Pentecostal publications in the Southeastern United States was *The Evening Light and Church of God Evangel* later (in 1911) shortened to *The Church of God Evangel*. The first issue, eight pages in length, was published in March of 1910 in Cleveland, Tennessee, by then headquarters of the denomination. The General Overseer of the Church of God, A. J. Tomlinson, served as editor from 1910 until 1922. The early publications were eight pages, biweekly and sold for a subscription rate of fifty cents per year. By 1914, the paper changed to a weekly, four page, newspaper style format with a one dollar per year subscription rate.¹⁵

¹³ *AF* 1.1 (September 1906), p. 2.

¹⁴ *TBM* 1.1 (October 1, 1907), p.1.

¹⁵ <http://web2010.com/ppctii/cyber/roebuck.html>, p. 13.

A fourth publication falling clearly in the Wesleyan-Pentecostal camp is *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* published by the Pentecostal Holiness Church, another predominantly southeastern United States denomination. This denomination began publication of its official journal in May, 1917 in Falcon, North Carolina, headquarters of the church. It was edited by G. F. Taylor, a prominent leader in the denomination, and former General Superintendent. The weekly journal was sixteen pages in length, with an annual subscription rate of \$1.50. The publication moved to Franklin Springs, Georgia in 1918, when Taylor was appointed by the church to begin and preside over a school, the Franklin Springs Institute.

A predominant African-American denomination, the Church of God in Christ, is also part of the Wesleyan-Pentecostal branch of the movement. Its founder, Charles H. Mason began publication of its journal, *The Whole Truth*, in 1907, though he and C. P. Jones had published a holiness journal, *The Truth*, as early as 1896. *The Whole Truth*, a four page newspaper, was edited by Justus Bowe. It was published at Argenta, Arkansas "at no set time, but at such times as the Lord leads and provides means."¹⁶ Only one edition from the first twenty years of the movement has been located. In addition to the insight gained from this one issue, sermons preached by C. H. Mason, and apparently transcribed by listeners, between the years 1915 and 1929 will be examined.

The first publication in the Finished Work Pentecostal stream is Carrie Judd Montgomery's monthly journal *Triumphs of Faith*, which was edited by Montgomery for over sixty years. The journal, which was devoted to the promotion of holiness and healing, was first published in Buffalo, New York and later in Oakland, California. In 1910, subscriptions were offered for one dollar per year. Montgomery claimed an experience of Baptism in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues in 1908.

The next body of literature examined is denominational, but from the midwestern United States. Two formerly independent papers, *Word and Witness* and *The Christian Evangel*, became the official periodicals of the Assemblies of God after their organizational meeting in Hot Springs, Arkansas in 1914. *Word and Witness* and *The Christian Evangel* (published weekly and called *The Weekly Evangel* after 1915) were simultaneously published until 1916, when publication of *Word and Witness* ceased. The

¹⁶ *TWT* IV.4 (October 1911), p. 2.

name reverted to *The Christian Evangel* in 1918 and was changed to *The Pentecostal Evangel* in 1919.

A tributary flowing out of the Finished Work stream is the Oneness Pentecostal movement. The leaders of this movement published prolifically, though no journals as such are extant. Therefore, in order to hear from this part of the tradition, other resources are utilized. Seven tracts, written by three prominent preachers within the movement, Andrew D. Urshan, Frank J. Ewart and G. T. Haywood will be examined. These have been reprinted as facsimiles in “*The Higher Christian Life*” series, edited by Donald W. Dayton and published by Garland Publishing, Inc. in New York and London in 1985. In addition, two monographs by Evangelist Mattie Crawford will be examined. These are entitled *Discourses on Divine Healing* and *The Story of My Life*. A songbook, *The Pentecostal Flame*, edited by Crawford will also be examined.

Five editions of a final periodical, *The Pentecostal Testimony*, edited and published by William H. Durham, were examined and proved to be indispensable in understanding his presentation of Finished Work Pentecostalism. However, the publication provided no insights with regard to healing theology or practice.

These publications allow for assessment of Pentecostal theology in different geographic areas (American west coast, southeast, midwest, northwest); from a predominantly African-American perspective (*The Apostolic Faith*, *The Whole Truth*, the writings of G. T. Haywood) and predominantly white perspectives; from the perspective of Wesleyan-Pentecostals and from the Baptist- “Finished Work” perspective; from the perspective of one who was been a leader in the nineteenth-century healing movement and became a Pentecostal (Carrie Judd Montgomery); and from both Trinitarian and Oneness Pentecostal perspectives.

Excursus 2: The Role of Publishing in Early Pentecostalism

Like their predecessors in the Holiness and Healing movements, Pentecostals immediately saw the value of print media for evangelism and education.¹⁷ The printed page provided a way of reaching masses of people who could not be reached in one gathering. Through large subscription lists,

¹⁷ See Malcolm John Taylor, *Publish and Be Blessed: a case study in early Pentecostal publishing history, 1906-1926*, (PhD thesis, Birmingham, England: University of Birmingham, 1994). This study provides an in depth examination of the propagation of Pentecostal doctrine in England through *Confidence*, published by A. A. Boddy.

early Pentecostals spread the five-fold gospel literally around the world. It is estimated that by 1908, there were twenty-one Pentecostal periodicals in circulation, fourteen of those in the United States.¹⁸

The importance of these publications in propagating the doctrine and practice of the movement cannot be overstated. Warner notes six categories of focus for the early publications: evangelism, indoctrination, introduction of distinctives, inspiration, promotion and “leadership helps.”¹⁹ These publications reached those who had not yet experienced Pentecost and often led to their conversion to the movement. They also encouraged and informed the constituents of the movement to whom other educational means were not available. Editors of *The Whole Truth* said of the paper’s contents: “It shall be strictly based upon the plain teaching of the Holy Scriptures, and with testimonies of what God is truly doing for us and through us in fulfilling his word of promise.”²⁰

When Pentecostals began to organize, these papers served to inform the reader of upcoming denominational meetings, camp meetings and revivals. Evangelists became known through the printed revival reports. Discussions of new doctrinal positions (for instance, baptismal formulas) or governmental changes can be found.

One very important role of these publications was that of being a means of spiritual formation for a group of adherents. A case study will illustrate this. *The Church of God Evangel* connected Church of God members all over the southeastern United States and beyond. For example, song books which would be used at the next General Assembly of Church of God members were announced and promoted through the *Evangel*. This helped to insure a uniformity in worship and also in the messages conveyed in song. Personal testimonies and revival accounts helped connect people to each other and to the denomination. The result was a uniformity and familiarity common from church to church and region to region. The *Evangel* also served to support the centralized governmental structure of the church. Edited by A. J. Tomlinson, General Overseer of the denomination, it provided a vehicle in which Tomlinson could promote his agenda, which he believed to

¹⁸ W. E. Warner, “Publications”, *DPCM*, p. 743.

¹⁹ Warner, *DPCM*, p. 742.

²⁰ *TWT* IV.4, p. 2.

be the agenda of the church.²¹

With regard to the doctrine of divine healing in the atonement and practices associated with the doctrine, Pentecostal publications served to defend and explain the doctrine. Numbers of testimonies of those healed and of those not healed, in the form of obituaries, served to substantiate the beliefs. The practices described also solidified what was, and was not, acceptable practice.

IV. Research Methodology

The journals and magazines outlined above can be accessed in a variety of archives. The thirteen issues of *The Apostolic Faith* published in Los Angeles have been reprinted in one volume under the title *Like As of Fire* (1991). The reprint was edited by E. Myron Noble and published by Middle Atlantic Regional Press in Washington, D.C.

Copies of *The Bridegroom's Messenger* are available for reading at the Hal Bernard Dixon, Jr. Pentecostal Research Center in Cleveland, Tennessee. All issues available, those published from October 1, 1907 until December 15, 1910 (seventy-six issues) were read.

The Church of God Evangel may be accessed, on microfilm, at the Dixon Pentecostal Research Center. Hard copies are not made available for examination but are housed at the Research Center. Extant issues from 1910 until 1923 were read. There are no extant copies from 1911 until 1914.

The Dixon Center also acquired microfilm copies of all issues of *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate*, the originals of which are housed in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma at the Pentecostal Holiness Archives. Issues from 1917 to 1923 were examined. In addition, the Dixon Center houses a complete set of the Garland "*Higher Christian Life*" series, as well as biographies of C. H. Mason and G. T. Haywood.

The Emmanuel College Archives, in Franklin Springs, Georgia gave access to an unpublished history of the denomination written by Bishop J. H. King.

The Flower Center, Assemblies of God Archives, in Springfield, Missouri houses copies of the Assemblies of God publications *Word and*

²¹ For a detailed treatment of Tomlinson's publishing endeavors see the articles in *Church of God History and Heritage*, Winter 1998 (Cleveland, Tennessee: Hal Bernard Jr. Pentecostal Research Center).

Witness, The Christian Evangel, The Weekly Evangel and *The Pentecostal Evangel*. These are made available to researchers in hard copies of the originals. All available issues from 1913 to 1920 were read. The Flower Center also houses copies of *Triumphs of Faith*. All issues from 1906 until 1910 were read. In addition, one 1911 issue of *The Whole Truth* was accessed through The Flower Center. Finally, Durham's publication, *The Pentecostal Testimony*, was also made available through The Flower Center.

The monographs and songbook published by Mattie Crawford were accessed through the archives of the United Pentecostal Church in Hazelhurst, Missouri.

The Mattie M. Moss Collection in Richmond, California provided sermon material by C. H. Mason, as well as the 1926 Affirmation of Faith.

As has been noted, each issue or publication was read and all statements regarding theology and practice of healing were noted. Rather than imposing a scheme or grid on the texts, an attempt has been made to allow the beliefs and practices of each of the groups emerge from their writings.

Part 2: The Wesleyan-Pentecostal Stream

I. *Healing at Azusa Street--*

Documentation in The Apostolic Faith

A. *History of the Revival*

The story of the nearly legendary Azusa Street revival has been well-rehearsed.¹ Frank Bartleman's *How Pentecost Came to Los Angeles* carefully documents the event from the eyes of a white observer and participant. The story of the "movement without a man" ironically does center on the story of one man, the son of African slaves, William J. Seymour. Seymour was a holiness preacher from Louisiana, by way of Ohio and Texas, a disciple of the reportedly racially prejudiced Charles F. Parham. Parham is widely held to be the originator of the doctrine of tongues as initial, or "Bible", evidence of baptism in the Holy Ghost.²

In Seymour's own story:

It was the divine call that brought me from Houston, Texas, to Los Angeles. The Lord put it in the heart of one of the saints in Los Angeles to write to me that she felt the Lord would have me come over here and do a work, and I came, for I felt ia [sic] was the leading of the Lord. The Lord sent the means, and I came to take charge of a mission on Santa Fe Street, and one night they locked the door against me, and afterwards got Bro. Roberts, the president of the Holiness Association, to come down and settle the doctrine of the Baptism with the Holy Ghost, that it was simply sanctification. He came down and a good many holiness preachers with him, and they stated that sanctification was the baptism with the Holy Ghost. But yet they did not have the evidence of the second chapter of Acts, for when the disciples were all filled with the Holy Ghost, they spoke in tongues as the Spirit gave utterance. After the president heard me speak of what the true baptism of the Holy Ghost was, he said he wanted it too, and told me when I had received it to let him know. So I received it and let him know. The beginning of the

¹ For one of the most insightful treatments of the revival in its religious context, see ch. 1 and 2 of Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1994). Cox brilliantly contrasts the World's Parliament of Religions, or "White City," at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition and its attempts to make religion relevant to the twentieth century with the humble and unassuming beginnings of the Azusa Street Revival, a movement which did revitalize Christianity in the twentieth century.

² See James R. Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest: Charles Fox Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville, Arkansas: University of Arkansas Press, 1988) and Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel* for biographical material on Parham.

Pentecost started in a cottage prayer meeting at 214 Bonnie Brae.³

The meetings on Bonnie Brae Street, in the home of Richard Asberry, soon grew with attendance by curious observers, many of whom experienced glossolalia. Seymour moved his pulpit to the front porch and preached to the interracial curiosity seekers. The crowds soon outgrew the Asberry home and a larger building was secured on Azusa Street. The building was “an old Methodist church that had been converted in part into a tenement house, leaving a large, unplastered, barn-like room on the ground floor.”⁴ The “barnlike” building had been more recently used as a livery stable, a fact not unnoticed by supporters:

It was such an humble place with its low ceilings and rough floor. Cobwebs were hanging in the windows and joists. As I looked around I thought of Jesus when He came to earth and was born in a manger. I thought of the fine church houses in the city of Los Angeles, but the Lord had chosen this humble spot to gather all nationalities, to baptize them with the Holy Ghost.⁵

Three or more services were held daily from 1906 till 1909 and because of the urban nature of the revival center, hundreds attended and carried the Pentecostal message to other parts of the world. The meeting survived even the disappointing denouncement by Seymour’s mentor, Parham, who was outraged by the religious enthusiasm he witnessed, but perhaps more so by the interracial nature of the worship.

Seymour and associates, both black and white, male and female began publishing *The Apostolic Faith* in September 1906. The masthead declared the intent of the paper: “ ‘Earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints.’ Jude 3.”⁶ Seymour would claim that the circulation was 40,000 by the end of 1907.⁷

B. The Origins of Illness

Like their mothers and fathers in the nineteenth century Healing movement, Seymour and his followers saw Satan to be the author of illness and disease, though God sometimes allowed or permitted it. *The Apostolic*

³ *AF*, 1.1 (September, 1906), p. 1.

⁴ *AF*, 1.1 (September, 1906), p. 1.

⁵ R. Sizelove quoted in Faupel, p. 202.

⁶ *AF*, 1.1 (September, 1906), p. 1, et al.

⁷ Warner, *DPCM*, p. 744.

Faith boldly declared, “Sickness is all the work of satan [sic].”⁸ Sickness and disease were unknown, foreign to humanity, until “that unholy visitor came into the garden” and as a result sickness now is passed on through the human condition. Apparently, sickness is inherited, just as sin is inherited: “Every drop of blood we received from our mother is impure. Sickness is born in a child just as original sin is born in the child.” But just as the remedy for sin is found in the work of Christ, so, the remedy for illness. Indeed, Jesus “was manifested to destroy the works of the devil.”⁹

In this view, Christians become sick because of “sins of omission or commission,” “overexertion,” or “getting on his [Satan’s] territory.”¹⁰ Breaking covenant with God may result in sickness, or a state “worse than the first.”¹¹ Like the man at the pool, readers were instructed to “ ‘Sin no more, lest a worse thing come upon thee.’ ”¹² In the Old Testament, the people of God knew healing for their diseases until they trusted in “the arm of the flesh”, beginning with the reign of Solomon, who was understood to have brought in occultic practices, “whoring after familiar spirits.”¹³

Though these statements seem to be fairly straightforward, with sickness in the believer being the result of sin, these early Pentecostals were able to hold in tension the fact that some were sick as a result of natural circumstances. When writing of David’s belief in healing (based on a reading of Psalm 103), *The Apostolic Faith* concludes that David was healed of rheumatism, “perhaps contracted in the caves where he hid himself from his pursuers”.¹⁴

Sickness and disease, then are the result of the Fall and a part of the fallen human condition; sickness is the work of Satan, but may be permitted by God as a correction for disobedience; and finally, some illness may be the result of natural, but cursed, circumstances in the world.

C. God’s Remedy for Sickness: The Atonement

As has already been stated, the Azusa leadership saw a remedy for sin

⁸ *AF*, 1.5 (January, 1907), p. 1.

⁹ *AF*, 1.10 (September, 1907), p. 2.

¹⁰ *AF*, 1.5 (January, 1907), p. 1.

¹¹ *AF*, 2.13 (May, 1908), p.2.

¹² *AF*, 2.13 (May, 1908), p. 2.

¹³ *AF*, 1.10 (September, 1907), p. 2.

¹⁴ *AF*, 1.10 (September, 1907), p. 2.

and sickness in the blood of Jesus. From the inaugural issue of *The Apostolic Faith*, in the statement of faith, Matthew 8.16 is referred to as support for God's ability to heal.¹⁵ This statement was reprinted in every issue. The article which follows that initial statement is titled "The Precious Atonement." It is addressed to "Children of God, partakers of the precious atonement....."¹⁶ The benefits of the atonement are listed: forgiveness, sanctification, healing of our bodies and "baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire upon a sanctified life."¹⁷ Seymour proclaims in this article,

How we ought to honor that precious body which the Father sanctified and sent into the world, not simply set apart, but really sanctified, soul, body and spirit, free from sickness, disease and everything of the devil. A body that knew no sin and disease was given for these imperfect bodies of ours. Not only is the atonement for the sanctification of our souls, but for the sanctification of our bodies from inherited disease.¹⁸

Reading Isaiah 53, Seymour writes that the fulfillment came with Jesus. He instructs that the best translation of "He hath borne our griefs" is "He hath borne our sickness."¹⁹ Why then should we bear them, he concludes. This he proclaims is "full salvation."²⁰ Christ's sacrifice was "two-fold": "He gave His blood for the salvation of our souls and He gave a perfect body for these imperfect bodies of ours."²¹ This two-fold salvation is referred to in testimonies recorded in the periodical. John Waterson testified, "I can testify to this world that there is power in the Blood of Jesus Christ to cleanse from all sin and all dread diseases. Two days before I received your letter I was made well and my shoulder went up into its place. All I can say is, Praise the Lord for ever and ever."²²

¹⁵ *AF*, 1.1 (September, 1906), p. 2.

¹⁶ *AF*, 1.1 (September, 1906), p. 2.

¹⁷ *AF*, 1.1 (September, 1906), p. 2.

¹⁸ *AF*, 1.1 (September, 1906), p. 2.

¹⁹ This preference for the "sicknesses" translation may indicate that Seymour was here using the Revised Version. In an 1891 edition of the RV, a margin reference for both verses 12 and 14 of Is. 53, indicates that the Hebrew is "sickness." Whether or not Seymour got this information on the "better translation" from a margin reference or from a commentary, it is indicative of his ability to choose a translation which serves his purpose. See Thomas, "Women, Pentecostals and the Bible" where Thomas points out James' preference, in Acts 15, for the LXX translation of Amos 9.11-12 over a more exclusive translation as found in the Hebrew text (pp. 46,47). This example from the *AF* is in keeping with this type of Pentecostal hermeneutic.

²⁰ *AF*, 1.1 (September, 1906), p. 2.

²¹ *AF*, 1.4 (December, 1906), p. 2.

²² *AF*, 1.9 (June-September, 1907), p. 3.

Christ's sacrifice is likened to the Passover lamb, which, when eaten by the Israelites gave them "strength and health" as they went out of Egypt. As the Jews look back to the Passover, we look back to Calvary. The Lord's Supper observance remembers "two-fold salvation," and the body of the Lord is taken for health. When the body is not properly discerned, i.e. not believing in full salvation, illness or death results.²³

Eating the flesh and drinking the blood do not only occur as we partake of the Lord's Supper, however. By "faith in His word for salvation, health and healing" one is allowed to partake of the flesh and blood on a daily basis. Because his perfect body never saw corruption, one may have healing. His body was prepared by God "from heaven by the Holy Ghost and send down into this world to be the Bread of Life."²⁴ Here, the work of Christ is a trinitarian event.

For Seymour, honoring the blood and the body of Jesus, is accepting and preaching this full salvation, the river of living water which Jesus offers the woman in John 4. In this river is "...healing, health, salvation, joy, life--everything in Jesus."²⁵

Health and healing are intricately linked to salvation and are actually the results of sanctification of the body. Commenting on Paul's prayer in 1 Thessalonians 8.23, *The Apostolic Faith* concludes: "That prayer is being prayed by the Holy Ghost for us today. Jesus prayed that the Father would keep us from evil, which means sickness and all the works of the devil. All sickness is the work of Satan, and we have just as much right to look to Jesus for the health of these bodies as for the saving and sanctifying of our souls."²⁶ The writers can assert, "We ought to claim perfect health through the atonement of Jesus."²⁷

Like their predecessors in the nineteenth century, salvation is for service. Therefore, the life in Christ of which one is witness is to be one which exhibits the fruit of that life, "a perfect monument of His truth and witness to the healing and sanctification of our body, soul, and spirit."²⁸

²³ *AF*, 1.4 (December, 1906), p. 2.

²⁴ *AF*, 1.6 (February-March, 1907), p. 2.

²⁵ *AF*, 1.3 (November, 1906), p. 2.

²⁶ *AF*, 1.4 (December, 1906), p. 2.

²⁷ *AF*, 1.11 (January, 1908), p. 3. This positional understanding is atypical of most Azusa Street theology of healing. The "fault line" which begins to have influence in the nineteenth century healing movement is here evident.

²⁸ *AF*, 1.6 (February-March, 1907), p. 6.

D. The Holy Spirit and Healing

Being baptized in the Spirit so encompassed the lives of the individuals who were a part of the Azusa Street revival that the whole direction of their lives was changed as a result. A missionary to China, Antoinette Moomau, wrote, “To sum it up, the baptism of the Spirit means to me what I never dreamed it could this side of Heaven: victory, glory in my soul, perfect peace, rest, liberty, nearness to Christ, deadness to this old world, and power in witnessing.”²⁹ Florence Crawford, a leader at Azusa, wrote, “I never was so determined as now to stand in all the fullness of this great Gospel.” And so, empowered by the Spirit, they served.

From their foremothers and forefathers in the Healing Movement, they had inherited a doctrine of divine healing in the atonement. But how did a new understanding of and experience in the Holy Spirit effect that doctrine?

Baptism in the Spirit is referred to often in relation to healing. Revival reports and testimonies refer to those who are healed at the time of their Spirit baptism.³⁰ One writes of feeling the “streaming” through his body and comments “I suppose the healing power.”³¹

For Clara Lum of the Apostolic Faith Office, the Holy Spirit provided better health and a source of strength during illness: “O, it was so sweet to have Him talk and sing through me when I was sick, during the night seasons. Sometimes I sang for hours and in a new voice and it did not tire me.”³²

One account describes a person who is praying for the healing of a sick sister and asks the Holy Spirit to pray through him, “instead of praying in the old way.” When the message, “ ‘The Lord for the body and the body for the Lord,’ ” came the sister was instantly healed and convicted of the need for a deeper walk with the Lord. The Holy Spirit’s empowerment allowed for more effective work for God, including praying for the sick. The man in this account reportedly said he could “accomplish a hundred times as much in a day and much more easily than formerly. It is simply letting the Holy Ghost do the work.”³³

The gift of healing, a gift of the Spirit, was discussed by some

²⁹ *AF*, 1.11 (January, 1908), p. 3.

³⁰ See *AF*, 1.1 (September 1906), p. 2, 3; 1.4 (December, 1906), p. 4; 1.5 (January, 1907), p. 4; 1.6 (February-March, 1907), p. 3 for examples.

³¹ *AF*, 1.4 (December, 1906), p. 4.

³² *AF*, 1.6 (February-March, 1907), p. 8.

³³ *AF*, 1.8 (May, 1907), p. 3.

participants. A report from the revival in India reported that healing along with other gifts listed by Paul were being given “by the Holy Ghost to simple, unlearned members of the body of Christ.”³⁴ Seymour and the other leaders taught that the gifts listed in 1 Corinthians 12 are in the Holy Spirit and when the Spirit dwells in the human heart “in all his fullness” the gifts are resident there as well.³⁵

Baptism in the Holy Spirit allowed the Christian worker an added dimension of effectiveness as well as strength. With the fullness of the Spirit came gifts, including healing. As a further benefit of the atonement, the Spirit-filled person had more of the fullness of salvation. As for those who were healed simultaneously with the experience of Spirit Baptism, the receptivity on their part allowed for them to receive all of the fullness of God.

E. Signs Following Believers

A prominent healing text, which was more often than not omitted by the nineteenth century movement, is Mark 16:16-18. This text comes to the forefront with the advent of the Pentecostal revival. Under Parham’s influence, Seymour and others had become convinced that speaking in tongues was the “Bible evidence” of being filled with the Holy Ghost. Those gathered at Bonnie Brae had waited for this evidence, as had Agnes Ozman in Topeka. With that sign came others. The Mark 16 text promised exorcism of demons, deliverance from snakes and poison, speaking with new tongues, raising the dead and healing. It stood to reason that because tongues were following the believers at Azusa, the rest would also follow. Issue number 3 reported that all the signs had followed at Azusa except raising the dead. The issue reported that they were waiting on that sign, because it would prove God to be true and would “result in the salvation of many souls.”³⁶

The Mark 16 text became a support text for *The Apostolic Faith* statement on healing. In the inaugural issue, the text is quoted as support for the phenomena appearing at Azusa. The signs confirmed the Word and confirmed what was happening in Los Angeles.³⁷

The Apostolic Faith was not unfamiliar with text critical problems

³⁴ *AF*, 1.3 (November, 1906), p. 1.

³⁵ *AF*, 1.3 (November, 1906), p. 3.

³⁶ *AF*, 1.3 (November, 1906), p. 4.

³⁷ *AF*, 1.1 (September, 1906), p. 2.

associated with these verses. They offered the following apology:

Why do they reject these verses? Because Dr. Godbey, in his commentary and translation has left them out. Why did he leave them out? Because they were not in the Sinaitic [sic] manuscript from which he translated. It was a manuscript found in later years in a mission on Mount Sinai. The man who found the manuscript, a German by the name of Tischendorf, said that some sheets of it had already been thrown into a receptacle for kindling wood. In this or some other way, a part may have been lost from that manuscript.³⁸

The writer who had once followed Godbey's word on the reliability of the text, had come to believe that these were Jesus' last words because of what had been experienced and heard through the Spirit at Azusa. For those at Azusa, Word and Spirit, were the guide! African-American Christians, according to James Cone, already had a hermeneutic which placed scriptural interpretation in the context of "a gift of the Spirit" rather than "intellectual encounter with the text."³⁹ In a later issue, one finds a statement which reveals the Spirit's role in Pentecostal hermeneutics: "This Bible becomes a new book to those baptized with the Holy Ghost. You absolutely lose your own judgment in regard to the Word of God. You eat it down without trimming or cutting, right from the mouth of God. You live by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."⁴⁰ Land, in answering the question "Do Pentecostals place Spirit above the Scripture", writes,

The answer is 'Yes' and 'No'. Yes, the Spirit is prior to the written Word of God, but the Spirit inspires, preserves and illumines the Word within the communion of those who are formed, corrected, nurtured and equipped by the Word. Yes, the Spirit does not exist only to illumine Scripture and apply the benefits of salvation to the believer. The gifting and guiding of persons in community and the community as a whole is the ongoing, daily task of the Spirit. The signs and power of the Spirit are not an optional addition for a church that would engage principalities and powers and suffer unto death.⁴¹

Not to accept the final words of Jesus would be trimming or cutting, thereby rejecting what came out of the mouth of God.

"Signs following" became the litmus test for a movement of God. *The*

³⁸ *AF*, 1.2 (October, 1906), p. 3.

³⁹ James Cone, "Black Worship", *The Study of Spirituality* (Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, and Edward Yarnold, eds.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 489. Cone gives as an example the rejection by blacks of white interpretations of Scripture which endorsed slavery. They understood themselves as not being "merely taught by the Book" but by the Spirit.

⁴⁰ *AF*, 1.5 (January, 1907), p. 3.

⁴¹ Land, p. 39.

Apostolic Faith boldly proclaimed in headlines that these signs were following at Azusa.⁴² These signs were the subject of songs given by the Holy Spirit⁴³ and of messages in tongues interpreted by the Holy Spirit.⁴⁴

Charles H. Mason testified that before his experience at Azusa, he had seen the sign of healing many times but had not understood the sign of tongues. As he began to “hunger and thirst” for more, he accepted that tongues was a sign of Baptism in the Spirit. The sign came as he totally surrendered his whole being to God. Tongues, then, became a sign of responsiveness and surrender to God just as healing had been a sign of his acceptance of God’s power to heal.⁴⁵

In its eleventh issue, *The Apostolic Faith* published a series of questions and answers. One of those questions asked what was the real evidence of the baptism of the Holy Ghost. The answer follows:

Divine love, which is charity. Charity is the Spirit of Jesus. They will have the fruits of the Spirit. Gal. 5:22. “The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness, faith, temperance; against such there is no law. And they that are Christ’s have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts.” This the the real Bible evidence in their daily walk and conversation; and the outward manifestations; speaking in tongues and the signs following: casting out devils, laying hands on the sick and the sick being healed, and the love of God for souls increasing in their hearts.⁴⁶

For the Azusa leadership, these signs followed the person whose life was filled with the fruit of the Spirit. The signs were outward manifestations of inward experiences. So they were not just phenomena poured out by God, but were the natural outflow of the Spirit-filled life, the life which participates in God. This is why those who experienced an inward flow or streaming of the Spirit could assume it to be healing power.

F. Means of Healing

The scripture most often referred to in regard to the method of healing or the practice of healing is James 5.14. The text is used to support the statement of faith with regard to seeking healing. Reports in the first issue

⁴² *AF*, 1.4 (December, 1906), p. 1.

⁴³ *AF*, 1.8 (May, 1907), p. 2.

⁴⁴ *AF*, 1.4 (December, 1906), p. 3.

⁴⁵ *AF*, 1.6 (February-March, 1907), p. 7.

⁴⁶ *AF*, 1.11 (January, 1908), p. 2.

support this doctrinal statement. The last page of the first issue carries the story of one who was anointed and prayed for and whose deafness was healed.⁴⁷ G. B. Cashwell, a North Carolina holiness minister who was baptized in the Holy Spirit at Azusa, reported cases where the sick were anointed with oil throughout the southeastern United States, just as he had been anointed at the meeting in Los Angeles.⁴⁸ No explanation of what oil symbolizes or what occurs as the oil is applied is offered. The practice seems to be in obedience to scripture and seems to be accompanied by the faith that God's healing power will be present.

For others Mark 16 was understood as a mandate, "They shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover." Many testimonies are offered in which the sick have hands laid on them, or are touched in some way by the one doing the praying and the sickness disappears. A. G. Garr and his wife, early recipients at Azusa, went back to their home in Danville, Virginia and reported on the healings that had taken place there. Garr writes, "Soon after we arrived, a lady sick with dropsy came to the meeting. She got out of bed to come; had been sick a long time. As she told us how glad she was to see us back in Danville and of her long sick spell, I said: 'God will heal you,' and took her hand. She immediately shouted that she was healed. I felt the healing power flow into her body."⁴⁹

For others, it was possible simply to pray the prayer of faith, according to James 5, and see the results. The person need not be present to be healed. If two agreed in prayer together, healing could take place.⁵⁰

"The altar," a space designated for prayer, probably at the front of the meeting room became a place of healing, and other experiences in God.⁵¹ At the altar, one could be anointed with oil or have hands laid on them.

Healing also came as a result of spiritual or charismatic experiences. Several issues report visions of light, clouds, heaven or of Jesus which culminate in the healing of an individual.⁵² In an issue from September 1907, a report of a girl who had been "laid out for burial" and who was hours later "raised from the dead" is given. While in this unconscious state, she had a

⁴⁷ *AF*, 1.1 (September, 1906), p. 4.

⁴⁸ *AF*, 1.7 (April, 1907), p. 4 and 1.4 (December, 1906), p. 3.

⁴⁹ *AF*, 1.2 (October, 1906), p. 3.

⁵⁰ *AF*, 1.9 (June-September, 1907), p. 3.

⁵¹ *AF*, 1.1 (September, 1906), p. 4.

⁵² *AF*, 1.3 (November, 1906), p. 4; 1.5 (January, 1907), p. 3

vision of Jesus and heaven. It was reported that the child was completely healed as a result.⁵³

One of the most common means of healing for Azusa followers was the anointed handkerchief. Taking Acts 19.12 as their cue, handkerchiefs were brought to Pentecostal meetings to be prayed for and anointed with oil. Others would send the handkerchief to *The Apostolic Faith* office in order that it be anointed and mailed back to the sick ones. Readers reported that they were healed as a result, often as they removed the cloth from the envelope. A Canadian reader wrote:

I feel led by the Holy Spirit to testify to the glory of God what He has done for me and my wife. The Lord has wonderfully healed me from catarrh of nine years standing. Glory! glory! Glory! glory be to my dear Redeemer's name! Soon as I received the handkerchief, or as soon as I opened the letter, such power went through my whole being as I have never felt before, and I praise Him, I feel the healing balm just now go through soul and body. Glory to King Jesus, the Great Physician of soul and body.⁵⁴

The power to heal did not reside in the handkerchief, nor the oil used to anoint but "through the simple faith of the dear ones who brought them." *The Apostolic Faith* staff wrote that they prayed for the handkerchiefs and "the power of God comes upon us in praying for them."⁵⁵ As with anointing with oil, there is a sacramental quality to this type of observance. The presence of God is manifested through a common element according to the faith of those praying and receiving.

A final and important word must be said about the means of healing. For the Azusa participants, Jesus is the Great Physician and to take medicine is to, like Solomon and those after him, trust in the arm of the flesh. The Azusa leaders contended that medicine and doctors could come between a person and the atonement.⁵⁶ They warned, "The doctor gives you poison and you die because you dishonor the atonement. You are sickly, you fall asleep. You come to the Lord's table and yet you do not believe in full salvation for soul and body. You take the cup and eat the bread, and yet deny the body of the Lord for health and salvation. So you are sick because you do not discern the

⁵³ *AF*, 1.9 (June-September, 1907), p. 4.

⁵⁴ *AF*, 1.9 (June-September, 1907), p. 3.

⁵⁵ *AF*, 1.6 (February-March, 1907), p. 1.

⁵⁶ *AF*, 1.4 (December, 1906), p. 2.

body of the Lord Jesus.”⁵⁷

Numerous testimonies attributed healing to trusting in Jesus as healer and not in medicine. *The Apostolic Faith* advised the healed not to keep “crutches, medicine bottles, and glasses” as “souvenirs” lest one be tempted to use them again.⁵⁸ This advice may be a critique of those like Alexander Dowie who displayed such articles as healing trophies.

With fifteen references in thirteen issues to this subject, it seems evident that there was no room for any other means of healing than that coming through Jesus directly. If medicine is “poison” then clearly Jesus would not use this method to heal. If one was “in the way” then he/she took Jesus as healer and Great Physician. This strict stance, of course, is not peculiar to the Pentecostal movement. It was inherited from the majority of those in the Healing movement before them.

II. Healing Theology and Practice in Early Southern Pentecostalism: Documentation in *The Bridegroom’s Messenger*

A. *History of G. B. Cashwell and the Publication*

Cashwell’s story is one of the great stories of the Pentecostal movement. He has been identified as “the apostle of Pentecost in the South”,⁵⁹ but the most impressive part of his story is found in his experience of Spirit-baptism at Azusa Street.

Cashwell was a Methodist Episcopal minister from eastern North Carolina. He left the Methodist church to become a minister in the Holiness Church of North Carolina, later the Pentecostal Holiness Church. Having heard of the Azusa Street Revival, he decided to travel across the United States in order to investigate and with the intent of seeking the Pentecostal experience.⁶⁰ Arriving at the mission, Cashwell was apparently wary of the interracial nature of what he witnessed. Though the worship at first seemed in some ways “‘fanatical’” and the mixing of races disturbing to him, he sensed that “ ‘God was in it.’” He recognized his own prejudice when a black woman laid hands on his head. Going back to his hotel room, Cashwell reported that

⁵⁷ *AF*, 1.4 (December, 1906), p. 2.

⁵⁸ *AF*, 1.1 (September, 1906), p. 2.

⁵⁹ See Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition and The Old Time Power*. Also see Vinson Synan, “Gaston Barnabas Cashwell,” *DPCM*, pp. 109-110.

⁶⁰ See Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, for a full account.

he “‘suffered a crucifixion’ and ‘died to many things,’ including his racial prejudice.”⁶¹ The next evening he requested that Seymour and other African-Americans in attendance lay hands on him that he might receive the baptism of the Holy Ghost. He received the experience claiming to speak in several languages. The congregation took up an offering and bought Cashwell a new suit and a train ticket home.⁶²

Cashwell returned to Dunn, North Carolina and began preaching the Pentecostal message. Through his influence other Holiness leaders in the South were converted to Pentecostalism. These included G. F. Taylor, H. H. Goff, F. M. Britton, J. H. King, N. J. Holmes, O. N. Todd, M. M. Pinson, H. G. Rodgers and A. J. Tomlinson. Through Cashwell the Pentecostal Holiness Church, the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church and the Pentecostal Free-Will Baptist Church became Pentecostal. The Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), already with a predilection toward Pentecostalism, became thoroughly Pentecostal with the Pentecostal experience of A. J. Tomlinson, following a sermon by Cashwell.⁶³ Pinson and Rodgers would play a part in the formation of the Assemblies of God.

In October 1907, Cashwell began publishing *The Bridegroom's Messenger* in order to promote the Pentecostal message and to bring unity and fellowship among those of the Pentecostal persuasion. The paper was endorsed by the Azusa Street workers in December of that year. Many of the prominent holiness-Pentecostal leaders in the South served as corresponding editors.⁶⁴ Contributors included Pinson, King, Bartleman and

⁶¹ Cashwell's transformation in this area is evidenced in his notice in *TBM* 1.2 (November 1, 1907) titled “Little Brown Men vs. Big Whites.” He writes, “The haughty Anglo-Saxon who regards all other races as his inferiors may find food for reflection in the record of a hundred Filipino boys sent to the United States to be educated. Not one of them failed in the examinations and not one of them but carried off some prize or honor won in competition with American boys.[sic] It has always been supposed that the brains of civilized people have been developed by centuries of education, and no race or people was ever better situated in that respect than the American, yet our boys go down to intellectual defeat before the little brown brothers whose forefathers were satisfied with a few rags and such food as they could get without too much trouble and who spent their days stalking Spanish troops in the jungle or sleeping the sleep of the just” (p. 2.). Obviously the statements aren't politically correct by today's standards, but they do exhibit a remarkable openness for a white man of the southern United States in 1907!

⁶² Synan, *DPCM*, p. 110.

⁶³ See below.

⁶⁴ At various times Goff of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, N. J. Holmes of Altamont Institute, G. F. Taylor of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, A. J. Tomlinson of the Church of God and others served.

others. The paper, like others in the movement, contained reports from revivals and camp meetings, testimonies, notices about upcoming conferences and camp meetings, endorsements of Bible schools and occasional sermons and articles. Eventually, it contained reprints from other holiness or Pentecostal publications. In June of 1908, Mrs. E. A. Sexton became editor, giving Cashwell more freedom to evangelize the Pentecostal message.⁶⁵

The Bridegroom's Messenger served not only as a vital link between the West Coast and the South but now serves as a view into the earliest Pentecostalism in the Southeastern United States region. Through its pages one glimpses the revival fervor that existed in the Last Days passion of these men and women. Resistance to organization is witnessed in the midst of cries for unity and fellowship. Adamant insistence on the preaching of the five-fold gospel is seen. The movement from Holiness theology to Holiness-Pentecostal theology may be examined as well as the pain experienced at the hands of those who resisted the new experience.

Examination of the periodical reveals that the paper served to form a network of support for missionaries to China, India, Central America, and Japan; established a Rescue Home for wayward girls in Wilmington, North Carolina; and supported benevolence ministries in North Carolina and Tennessee.

B. Overview of the Contents

At this point in Pentecostal history, believers were exhilarated by their new-found spirituality. All of the writings, regardless of the source, reflect the importance given to glossolalia and the implications of the experience. The encounter with the Holy Spirit was a personal one. The experience was dubbed "my Pentecost." It represented a new vista along the journey, empowering one for service, worship and victory. A letter from Mrs. A. E. C. Vaughn of Atlanta, Georgia expresses this "victorious" outlook: "Praise the Lord, He has given me my Pentecost with Bible evidence....Since that blissful time there have been great testings, but victory is easier and sure, praise His name....It grows better and more real all the time." She describes the road from her salvation in her youth, through sanctification, healing and hungering

⁶⁵ *TBM*, 1.15 (June 1, 1908), p. 2.

“for more and more as I could appropriate it.” At the moment of her baptism in the Spirit she writes that

A burning heat passed through and through my body, then the cry came “Spirit of burning come. Burn out what displeases Thee. Burn in what Thou dost put within. Burn on and out to others,” praise His dear name, then came the other tongues, as the Spirit gave utterance, and a song in the other tongues also. “O wondrous bliss, O joy divine.”⁶⁶

Much of what is found throughout these issues is affirmation of the experience of Spirit baptism with the initial evidence of speaking in other tongues. Instruction is offered on a limited basis, part of this in regard to the doctrine of initial evidence as separate from the spiritual gift of tongues. Cashwell apparently believed that in the movement’s infancy it had not yet seen all of the gifts restored to the Church “for the simple reason that the people are claiming them and only have the manifestations.” He exhorts, “God means for us to settle down before He will give us the Gifts of the Spirit.”⁶⁷ This may account for the lack of exposition of healing and other doctrines. Nevertheless, there are many testimonies of healing, giving evidence of its acceptance by the readership and by the editors.

C. Healing Theology

Though there are relatively few articles expounding a theology of healing, testimonies in particular reveal that these Pentecostals were in agreement with their fellow Pentecostals on the West Coast: sickness was a result of sin and Satan and its remedy was found in the atonement.

A. C. Boiter wrote, “The Devil has succeeded in binding the human family in chains and fetters of sin, and with terrible diseases and pains of unknown number. But glory to God, his sentence he knows is a thousand years.”⁶⁸ Illness could be the result of “oppression of the enemy” especially in those who were believers.⁶⁹ Mrs. Hattie M. Barth, later a secretary for the publication, exhorted readers to “Consider the origin of disease: ‘In the day thou eatest thereof, dying, thou shalt die.’ (Marginal rendering). It is our inheritance from the first man Adam, not from the ‘Second Man.’” However

⁶⁶ *TBM*, 1.2 (November 1, 1907), p. 3.

⁶⁷ *TBM*, 1.1 (October 1, 1907), p. 1.

⁶⁸ *TBM*, 1.8 (February 15, 1908), p. 3.

⁶⁹ *TBM*, 1.9 (March 1, 1908), p. 4. See also 1.3 (December 1, 1907), p. 3. Here Hilda Steel claims that she allowed the devil to convince her that she had not received the Holy Spirit and this resulted in sickness.

she later allows that God may permit sickness “as chastisement sometimes, ‘for our profit.’”⁷⁰ The editor in 1909, Mrs. E. A. Sexton encourages those whose illness is for chastisement to “get right with God and He will lift the rod.”⁷¹

R. B. Hayes, a frequent contributor, writes a letter from his sickbed in November 1908. He writes that the illness of ten days “has been a blessing to my soul.” Through the illness he was taught “lessons of love and humility.” Another writer says that he has asked God to heal him but believes “the Lord is going to let me stay crippled to keep me humble and dependent on Him.”⁷² It is apparent that these two saw the illness to be some sort of discipline from God.

From the view that illness came from Satan, comes the conclusion that sickness may be the result of demonic activity. An account of the Pentecostal work in Portland, Oregon attributed insanity in a woman and the inability to speak clearly in a child to demon possession. In both cases, demons were cast out.⁷³ A letter from Thomas Junk, missionary to North China, describes casting a demon out of a young Chinese woman with severe pain in her arm and shoulder.⁷⁴

That divine healing is provided in the atonement seems to be an assumption but is rarely commented upon. In June 1908, M. M. Pinson warns that only ministers who hold to the doctrines of “Repentance, faith in Christ, regeneration, consecration, sanctification by faith in Jesus....Also the baptism with the Holy Ghost with Bible evidence...Divine healing in the atonement....The pre-millennial coming of Jesus [sic]” should be endorsed.⁷⁵

The first exposition of the doctrine comes in April of 1909. Sexton quotes Isaiah 53.4 and comments, “Many thinking Christians admit that sickness is the result of the fall, but they do not see that redemption from sickness was purchased for us on the cross that just as really as redemption from sin.”⁷⁶

Nellie Eckert’s testimony of healing, published in November of 1909, is

⁷⁰ *TBM*, 2.33 (March 1, 1909), p. 4.

⁷¹ *TBM*, 2.35 (April 1, 1909), p. 1.

⁷² *TBM*, 1.16 (June 15, 1908), p. 2.

⁷³ *TBM*, 2.34 (March 15, 1909), p. 1.

⁷⁴ *TBM*, 2.26 (November 15, 1908), p. 4.

⁷⁵ *TBM*, 1.15 (June 1, 1908), p. 2.

⁷⁶ *TBM*, 2.35 (April 1, 1909), p. 1.

given the caption “A Testimony of Healing, Healing in the Atonement.” It is important, not just because of the theological statements made in the testimony, but because of the insights into the spirituality of Pentecostals. In this testimony one sees integration of theology with spiritual experience. She writes that she was taken ill and refused remedies. As members of her church and her husband prayed for her and anointed her with oil she began speaking in tongues and had a vision. She writes,

...the Spirit began speaking through me in tongues, and I saw a stream of blood come down before me; then the second, and the third; then all three streams came at the same time. At the sight of the first stream the Spirit began to say in English, ‘The blood, the blood, the blood.’ When the three streams came together at the same time, the work was done immediately. I was perfectly healed. Glory to God! Praise God for the blood.⁷⁷

She explains the vision as follows: “Healing is in the atonement. He showed me that the three streams of blood meant justification through the blood, sanctification through the blood, and divine healing through the blood.”⁷⁸

In April 1909, in language similar to that of Carrie Judd Montgomery, Sexton wrote two editorials describing the role of the Holy Spirit in healing. It should be noted that these articles occur in the second year of publication of *The Bridegroom’s Messenger*. It is also noteworthy that Sexton had two months previously published Montgomery’s testimony of Spirit baptism, reprinted from *Triumphs of Faith*.⁷⁹ Sexton writes, “When His quickening Spirit works in us in the healing of our sicknesses, there is given us an earnest of the redemption of our bodies.”⁸⁰ She follows this with an editorial titled “Resurrection Life” which echoes Montgomery’s pneumatology: “The Holy Spirit is this power, His working in the inner man effects our whole being, physical, as well as spiritual. The Holy Ghost is the agent in quickening. He communicates the resurrection life of Jesus, to those who have been buried with Christ, and they are raised in newness of life.”⁸¹

Though Sexton may have been influenced by Montgomery, it is evident that she maintained, as did the publication, a Wesleyan soteriology. Her editorial, one year later, on April 15, 1910, included a statement of

⁷⁷ *TBM*, 3.50 (November 15, 1909), p. 1.

⁷⁸ *TBM*, 3.50 (November 15, 1909), p. 1.

⁷⁹ *TBM*, 2.32 (February 15, 1909), p. 3.

⁸⁰ *TBM*, 2.35 (April 1, 1909), p. 1.

⁸¹ *TBM*, 2.36 (April 15, 1909), p. 1.

“Doctrine of the Pentecostal Movement.” Statement number three maintained that sanctification was a “second work of grace,” a view not espoused by those of the finished work camp. In July 1910 her editorial, “Sanctification the Necessary Preparation for the Pentecostal Baptism,” reiterates her position.⁸² Probably, for this reason, she never makes the kinds of claims about appropriating healing that Montgomery makes, i.e., that healing is a manifestation of a work already accomplished at Calvary and that one simply has to reckon it done. The testimonies which are published do not reflect this finished work theology.

Spirit baptism and glossolalia moved the readers and writers of *The Bridegroom’s Messenger* to read Mark 16 with new eyes and understanding. They had spoken in tongues and had heard others speaking in tongues. Now, they expected all of the other signs to follow. A. H. Butler noted that before the resurrection and Pentecost, “The apostles had power over all devils to cast them out, to heal the sick, raise the dead, tread on serpents, but could not yet speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave the utterance. Jesus imparted to them every thing it was possible for them to receive before His crucifixion.”⁸³ In Acts, after Pentecost, all of these things were witnessed. J. E. Sawders noted this and called it “The Pentecostal Standard.” He exhorted, “Demons must be cast out, those of all tongues must be addressed in their own language, sick must be healed, the unbelieving must see signs and know of a truth ‘this is that.’”⁸⁴

With this new Pentecostal reading of the Mark 16 text, the evangelists, pastors and newly baptized Pentecostals sought to fulfill this commission. Sexton wrote,

As a result of our contending for this same faith once delivered to the saints, we are beginning to be enlarged in expectation, we are now expecting these signs to follow the ministry of the saints, and even to learn that the dead are being raised, which so thrills our grateful hearts and humbles us at His dear feet, no longer seems in the realm of impossibility, but rather that which we might confidently expect, knowing our Lord has power also over the enemy of death. [sic]⁸⁵

What they witnessed were surely these signs. Sexton described the revival in

⁸² *TBM*, 3.65 (July 1, 1910), p. 1.

⁸³ *TBM*, 1.5 (January 1, 1908), p. 4.

⁸⁴ *TBM*, 1.4 (December 15, 1907), p. 4.

⁸⁵ *TBM*, 3.67 (August 1, 1910), p. 1.

Atlanta as having these signs following.⁸⁶ The same was said of revivals in South Carolina,⁸⁷ Toronto, Canada,⁸⁸ Florida,⁸⁹ New York,⁹⁰ Georgia,⁹¹ and Tennessee.⁹² Flavius J. Lee, in an article titled “Signs Shall Follow Them That Believe,” writes that the work at Dr. Yoakum’s Pisgah Home in Los Angeles surely proves that the signs are following believers.⁹³ The restoration of these signs in the church, a “neglected theme of God’s word,” was to be one of the topics of emphasis at the Falcon [North Carolina] Camp Meeting in 1908.⁹⁴

D. Hattie M. Barth’s Integration of Healing and Eschatology

The most original theological contribution regarding healing in *The Bridegroom’s Messenger* was made by Hattie M. Barth, daughter of Elizabeth A. Sexton.⁹⁵ In a brief article in March 1909, Hattie M. Barth described the signs which followed believers in relation to the Kingdom of God. She discusses the cessationist view and that of those who see these signs as only belonging to “the next dispensation.” But she proposes a third view: “It is true that these marvelous things belong, in a sense, to the next dispensation, but also it is true that God has provided a way for us to receive them now.” She goes on to define the Kingdom as “that time when Jesus is to reign on the earth, destroy sin, sickness, death, all the curse, bring all things back to a perfect state.” But for those who “receive the King, ‘the Kingdom of heaven is within.’” She declares that where he is received as King, he reigns and there “‘the blessed signs of this kingdom, life and peace and healing and the removal of the curse, begin to appear.” In Matthew 10.7 the disciples were commanded to preach that the kingdom was at hand and the signs of healing the sick, cleansing lepers, raising the dead and exorcism of demons would

⁸⁶ *TBM*, 1.5 (January 1, 1908), p. 1.

⁸⁷ *TBM*, 1.9 (March 1, 1908), p. 3.

⁸⁸ *TBM*, 1.16 (June 15, 1908), p. 2.

⁸⁹ *TBM*, 1.18 (July 15, 1908), p.3.

⁹⁰ *TBM*, 1.19 (August 1, 1908), p. 1.

⁹¹ *TBM*, 1.22 (September 15, 1908), p. 3.

⁹² *TBM*, 3.47 (October 1, 1909), p. 1.

⁹³ *TBM*, 3.47 (October 1, 1909), p. 4.

⁹⁴ *TBM*, 1.17 (July 1, 1908), p. 1.

⁹⁵ Barth’s other contributions include an article titled “The Love of Christ” in which she links footwashing with continual cleansing [1.2 (November 1, 1907), p. 1]; a Christmas homily on giving to the work of the harvest [1.4 (December 15, 1907), p. 1]; an article which was reproduced in tract form titled “Justification, Sanctification, and the Baptism of the Holy Ghost” [1.6 (January 15, 1908), p. 2]; and an article, referenced above, “Fellowship Suffering and Divine Healing” [2.33 (March 1, 1909), p. 4]. In 3.61 (May 1, 1910), p. 2, Barth and A. L. Barth are listed as secretaries for the publication.

accompany the preaching.⁹⁶

Though later Pentecostals and Charismatic writers would be in danger of over-emphasizing the place of the Kingdom in this age, Barth perceives that there is an “overlap,” what later theologians and New Testament scholars would call a “tension between the ages.”⁹⁷ She writes, “The ages overlap like links in a chain. From the time of Pentecost till now there have been some living by faith a few thousands, or hundreds of years ahead. Pentecost itself really belongs to the next dispensation. The prophecy in Joel 2.28, ‘I will pour out My Spirit upon all flesh,’ only began to be fulfilled on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2.17), the complete fulfillment, as the context shows, is in the next dispensation.”⁹⁸

The signs, as given in Mark 16, are a “foretaste of that coming Age.” She explains their function in this way:

Are we to cast out devils in His name? Satan will be bound the thousand years. Are we to drink deadly poison without hurt? Thorns, weeds, poisonous plants shall no more infest the ground. Are we to take up serpents? The suckling child shall play on the hole of the asp and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice den. Are we to heal the sick? When Jesus comes, ‘The inhabitant shall not say, ‘I am sick.’ Are we to overcome this age, all sin, sickness, death, and be caught up to meet him in the air without dying? He must reign, till he hath put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. Do we begin now to speak with other tongues of men and of angels, and have gifts of interpretation? The time is coming when that old curse given at Babel shall be lifted, and the inhabitants of the earth shall be no more divided, but shall have knowledge of His power, and be one people with God. Do we have knowledge of His power and taste of the glories of the age to come? “The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.”⁹⁹

If these are things of the age to come, how then does one see them now? She answers that one sees them now by living “in advance of our time.” This will result in being “misunderstood and persecuted by the world.” But if one is to be salt of the earth, we must live according to this next age.

Hattie Barth, more than any other Pentecostal writer to this point in

⁹⁶ *TBM*, 2.34 (March 15, 1909), p. 4.

⁹⁷ Steven J. Land, “The Nature and Evidence of Spiritual Fulness,” in Robert White ed., *Endued with Power: The Holy Spirit and the Church* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1995), p. 60.

⁹⁸ *TBM*, 2.34 (March 15, 1909), p. 4.

⁹⁹ *TBM*, 2.34 (March 15, 1909), p. 4.

history, demonstrated how these signs of the Spirit point to the Kingdom. Others in Pentecostalism, and those before them in the Healing Movement, had argued against a cessationist view based on exegesis, church history and modern occurrences of miracles. Pentecostals had argued for the validity of tongues and had linked that sign to the others. They certainly had alluded to this when spoke of themselves as being in “the way which is better by and by.” But no one had yet explained this in a way which integrated soteriology (to have “received the King”), pneumatology and eschatology. Barth does this in her view of the Kingdom. She foreshadows later writers who will understand the Kingdom as “already and not yet”¹⁰⁰ in explaining that one day all of the curse will be reversed everywhere but for now it can be so in the Pentecostals’ own lives.

E. Means of Healing the Sick

The audience of *The Bridegroom’s Messenger* adopted the measures used by the nineteenth century Healing Movement and by the Pentecostals at Azusa. More accurately, they adopted the measures prescribed in James 5 and Mark 16. They anointed with oil, prayed the prayer of faith and laid hands on the sick. Testimonies to this effect abound.¹⁰¹

Healing may take place at the altar¹⁰² or in the home when the elders are called.¹⁰³ Others may be healed at home as the church offers prayer on their behalf.¹⁰⁴ Some are healed as “the power falls.” This is indicated in accounts from India¹⁰⁵ and in a camp meeting in Durant, Florida.¹⁰⁶ Healing may be instantaneous¹⁰⁷ or gradual.¹⁰⁸

The use of medicine is discouraged.¹⁰⁹ For most this is a non-negotiable belief. As Annie Gatlin declared, “ ‘Well, if I die, I’ll die trusting Jesus,’ and praise His holy name, He raised me up without the aid of any

¹⁰⁰ See Land’s discussion, pp. 54-56.

¹⁰¹ See TBM, 1.1 (October 1, 1907), p. 3; 1.1 (October 1, 1907), p. 4; 1.2 (November 1, 1907), p. 3; 1.6 (January 15, 1908), p. 1, et al.

¹⁰² TBM, 1.1 (October 1, 1907), p. 4, for example.

¹⁰³ TBM, 1.7 (February 1, 1908), p. 4.

¹⁰⁴ TBM, 1.23 (October 1, 1908), p. 2.

¹⁰⁵ TBM, 1.9 (March 1, 1908), p. 1.

¹⁰⁶ TBM, 1.2 (November 1, 1907), p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ TBM, 1.2 (November 1, 1907), p. 3.

¹⁰⁸ TBM, 1.22 (September 15, 1908), p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ TBM, 1.3 (December 1, 1907), p. 4; 1.4 (December 15, 1907), p. 3; 1.17 (July 1, 1908), p. 3, et al.

medicine.”¹¹⁰ One testimony reveals that for some the choice not to use medicine or doctors was a difficult one. Mrs. H. H. Goff’s letter printed in the first issue describes how she had been able to trust God completely for healing until an attack of acute appendicitis. After fasting and prayer, there was no immediate relief. She confesses, “...my pain was greater than my faith.” After surgery, she was still in pain for four months. She was carried to the Falcon Camp Meeting where she was prayed for and in two days she was well. However, her health again deteriorated and further surgery was indicated. At that time, Cashwell was conducting his first Pentecostal meeting in Dunn, North Carolina. There, Goff was baptized in the Holy Spirit and was immediately healed.¹¹¹

One report of a revival indicates that handkerchiefs were being anointed for the healing of the sick. A. C. Boiter describes a month long meeting in Clinton, South Carolina. In addition to other healings, he reports that an anointed handkerchief was sent to a woman who had smallpox. By the next day, the woman was healed.¹¹²

A letter from John G. Lake, written to a Reverend Bryant of Zion, Illinois, and reprinted in January 1909 reveals Lake’s unique perspective on praying for the sick. Lake was a missionary to South Africa. He reports that ninety-two percent of those prayed for in each meeting were healed and seventy-five percent of those healings were instantaneous. Lake writes, “We do not preach Divine Healing. It is not worth while. We say to the sick people, ‘Come up on the platform and get it.’ Brother, one man healed in the sight of your audience beats all the sermons that ever you preached in convincing proof in power of the gospel of the Son of God, and the reality of the power of the blood of Jesus Christ.”¹¹³ Though this approach is nowhere else exhibited in the publication, it does provide insight into what was being practiced by at least one Pentecostal missionary.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ *TBM*, 1.18 (July 15, 1908), p. 3.

¹¹¹ *TBM*, 1.1 (October 1, 1907), p. 4.

¹¹² *TBM*, 2.31 (February 1, 1909), p. 3.

¹¹³ *TBM*, 2.29 (January 1, 1909), p. 4.

¹¹⁴ Synan incorrectly identifies Lake as the founder of the African “Zion Christian Church.” He was founder of the Afrikaner “Apostolic Faith Mission.” He returned to the United States and founded healing homes and churches in Oregon and Washington (Synan, p. 138). I am grateful to Alan Anderson for this insight.

III. Healing in the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee): Documentation in *The Church of God Evangel*

A. History of the Denomination

The Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee--hereafter referred to as the Church of God) traces its roots to an 1886 meeting held in a sawmill on the banks of a creek in Monroe County, Tennessee. At the Barney Creek meeting, nine people covenanted themselves to “be free from all men made [sic] creeds and traditions, and to take the New Testament, or law of Christ, for your only rule of faith and practice; giving each other equal rights and privilege to read and interpret for yourselves as your conscience may dictate, and are willing to set [sic] together as the Church of God to transact business [as] the same.”¹¹⁵ The small group of men and women were led by R. G. Spurling and his father Richard Spurling and became known as The Christian Union. The son, a licensed minister in the Missionary Baptist church and the father, an ordained elder, were troubled by what they saw in established churches. They saw a need for further reformation beyond that of the sixteenth century. For R. G. Spurling love was “the lost link.”¹¹⁶

Apparently, Spurling continued preaching his message and organized three other churches with the name Christian Union between 1889 and 1895.¹¹⁷ There was no real organization uniting the congregations.

In 1896, four men who were later influenced by B. H. Irwin’s Fire-Baptized movement preached a ten-day revival at the Shearer Schoolhouse in Cherokee County, North Carolina. William Martin, a Methodist and three Baptists, Joe M. Tipton, Elias Milton McNabb and William Hamby led the revival services. The meetings were met in the community by opposition and had to be moved to homes. William F. Bryant, a Baptist deacon, joined the group and became a leader. It was reported that as many as one hundred people in this revival spoke in tongues.¹¹⁸

Spurling became associated with Bryant and the group and

¹¹⁵ See David Roebuck, “Restorationism and a Vision for World Harvest: A Brief History of the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee)” at <http://web2010.com/pctii/cyber/roebuck.html>. For the official denominational history see Charles W. Conn, *Like A Mighty Army: A History of the Church of God, Definitive Edition 1886-1995* (Cleveland, Tenn.: Pathway Press, 1996).

¹¹⁶ Spurling’s restorationist historical theology is recorded in his monograph *The Lost Link* (Turtletown, Tenn.: by author, 1920).

¹¹⁷ Roebuck, p. 2.

¹¹⁸ See Roebuck, p. 3.

encouraged organization. On May 15, 1902, a local church was organized under the leadership of Spurling. The group chose to be known as the Holiness Church at Camp Creek. Spurling became pastor of the small group and Bryant was ordained a minister. In June, the group was joined by A. J. Tomlinson, a Bible salesman from Indiana, who had ministered in the area since 1896.¹¹⁹

Tomlinson's theological influences were varied. Raised a Quaker and converted to the Holiness tradition, he had studied at God's Bible School in Cincinnati, Ohio. He was influenced by Charles G. Finney, D. L. Moody and A. B. Simpson. In 1901, Tomlinson visited Frank Sandford's Shiloh community in Maine.¹²⁰ Tomlinson was deeply influenced by Sandford and was baptized, for the third time in his life, at Shiloh. Though the significance of this encounter has not to this point been fully investigated, it should be noted that Tomlinson's visit occurred the month before Sandford declared himself to be the prophet Elijah.¹²¹

Tomlinson became convinced that the Holiness Church at Camp Creek was the New Testament church and after his decision to join the group, was immediately made its pastor. Shortly afterward, a fourth minister, M. S. Lemons joined them.

Tomlinson was a visionary and convinced all of the leadership but Spurling to relocate to the larger town of Cleveland, Tennessee, located on the railroad, fifty miles away. Soon three new congregations had formed. All of the congregations, from three different states, came together in January 1906 in order "to consider questions of importance and to search the Bible for additional light and knowledge." The first General Assembly of the churches was deemed to be a judicial body and problems facing the churches were discussed: record keeping, family worship, Sunday Schools, communion and

¹¹⁹ Not only had Tomlinson sold Bibles, but he had also founded an orphanage, a school for children, a clothing distribution center, a Sunday School and published a periodical for children, *Samson's Foxes*. See Roebuck, p. 4.

¹²⁰ See Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel* for a thorough analysis of Sandford's eschatology.

¹²¹ Tomlinson was obviously impressed enough by Sandford to submit to baptism at Sandford's hand. Faupel shows that in September 1901, Sandford when setting the church in order focused on the role of the two witnesses in Revelation and in October was "struggling with the identity of Elijah" (p. 156). Tomlinson went to Shiloh in September and left on October 6. Sandford made his Elijah declaration in November 1901. Though Tomlinson never went this far, he later had his own distinctive eschatological understanding of his role in the Church of God. How much of the style and substance of his leadership was influenced by Sandford has never been determined.

footwashing, prayer meetings, transferring church membership and the use of tobacco. The assemblies became a regular (annual and then biennial) event. At the second General Assembly, the name Church of God, was established as the official name of the body. It was seen to be the biblical name of the New Testament church. Tomlinson, having been elected moderator for each of the assemblies, was given the year-round position of general moderator (general overseer, after 1910) of the Church of God.

In 1908, Tomlinson, who had been earnestly seeking the Pentecostal experience of baptism of the Spirit, having heard and read of the accounts from Azusa and elsewhere, invited G. B. Cashwell to preach at a service which followed the Assembly. In this service, Tomlinson was baptized in the Spirit, with the outward evidence of speaking in other tongues. From this point on the Church of God was a fiercely Pentecostal church, exhibiting renewed evangelistic and missionary zeal.¹²²

Tomlinson's leadership in the Church of God ended in 1923, when he was impeached.¹²³ Under his leadership, the church had begun educational institutions, benevolence institutions, publications as well as missionary and evangelism activities. Tomlinson had been unable to admit that he was not capable of single-handedly administrating the church. Though an Elder's Council, the State Overseers and the General Assembly were, on paper, a sort of check and balance system, in reality the governmental structure was that of a pyramid, with decision making at the top. Apparently, his vision and charismatic leadership style had allowed him to rise to a position of excessive power in the church. Ministers began to question his authority and an eventual financial crisis and charges of misappropriation of money led to his impeachment. F. J. Lee was selected by the Elders Council to lead the church. Lee served in this capacity until his death in 1928.

B. The Church of God Ethos

What did membership in the Church of God mean? Obviously, there were characteristics in common with other Holiness-Pentecostals. This spirituality has been identified and defined by Land. But in the Church of God,

¹²² The first Church of God missionaries, native Bahamians, set sail from Florida in 1909.

¹²³ Tomlinson never considered the impeachment to be legal and continued as General Overseer of the church he saw to be the continuing Church of God. This smaller group was forced by the courts to call itself by another name. Eventually it was identified by the name "The Church of God of Prophecy."

given its cultural environment and, most importantly, its own particular form of Last Days passion, handed down by Tomlinson, to belong meant to embrace a different way of being. Through the pages of *The Church of God Evangel*, the reader is able to discern something of this passion. The testimony which follows presents a picture of how one woman in the Bahamas understood this way of being.

Cooper's Town, Bohamas [sic]
Dear Brother Tomlinson and Saints--Greetings in
Jesus' Name: I praise God for saving and
sanctifying me, John 17:17, and later on He
baptized me with the Holy Ghost and fire
and I spoke in other tongues as the Spirit gave
utterance. It is so sweet to trust in Jesus, He is so
good to me. He is my Healer, bless His name. I
can join in with the Psalmist David in saying, 'Bless
the Lord, oh, my soul and all that is within me, bless
His holy name.' Oh, how I long to get closer to the
Lord and to be a soul-winner for Him.

The Devil is hard against the children of God but I
am determined to go through. Just one glimpse of
Him in glory, will the toil of life repay. I am a
member of the great Church of God. Pray for me.

Your sister under the blood,
Euterpie Saunders¹²⁴

To be a member of the early Church of God was to be a member of a well-defined group of Pentecostal believers who understood themselves to be on a hard, but rewarding, journey. For Euterpie Saunders, and many others like her, it meant having responded to the grace of God not just in a justification experience, but also in a crisis experience of sanctification. It meant to have further responded to the grace offered in the experience of Spirit baptism. To be "baptized with the Holy Ghost and fire" was a common way of expressing the all-consuming and transforming experience. So transforming was this inward experience that it was marked by an outward evidence of speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gave utterance. For these "saints" it meant to trust Jesus wholly as Healer and Great Physician. Why would one not trust the One who had been so good? This all-consuming passion for God drove them

¹²⁴ COGE, 7.19 (May 6, 1916), p. 3.

to “win souls” or bring others with them on the journey. The walk with the Lord was a constant walk toward Glory; that walk moved one closer to Him, but was also fraught with the fight against the devil. It was not an individual struggle, however, but one engaged in with other members of the “great Church of God,” brothers and sisters “under the blood.” By testifying and by the Blood of the Lamb, the Church would overcome.

For A. J. Tomlinson and those in the Church of God, the church was engaged in the conflict of the Last Days, a day in which Christians should “conform completely to the Bible teaching.”¹²⁵ Tomlinson exhorted,

We can't plead ignorance any longer. Light and knowledge are increasing rapidly as the last message is going forth. The Holy Ghost is our great teacher....He is seeking those who will honor their Lord and obey Him in everything. He is seeking for a bride for Jesus....Wonderful advancements have been made in this direction in the last four years, since the falling of the “latter rain.” The advance will no doubt be more rapid in the next four years if the Lord tarries. To accept Christ in these days means to take Him for all He is, viz., Saviour, sanctifier, baptizer with the Holy Ghost, healer and coming King.¹²⁶

This eschatological understanding drove men and women in the Church of God to live a life of uncompromising adherence to what they saw to be the standard of holiness. This standard affected the way they worked, played and worshiped. It was “being in the way”. A young man, O. E. Croy, wrote in 1916, “I am seventeen years old. I have been in the way about a year and it is better farther on.” To him, Jesus was “my Friend, my Keeper, my Doctor and my Saviour, who has stuck closer indeed than a brother.”¹²⁷ Walking in the way was an active pursuit of and participation in God.¹²⁸ Several months later, Oakley E. Croy concluded an article titled “The Disease of Sin and Its Cure” with this exhortation: “Let us keep our lamps trimmed and burning brightly. Let it shine everywhere we go. Let us keep witnessing of His power and glory till He comes or calls for us. Which is only our reasonable duty. Amen.”¹²⁹ The common interpretation of the parable of the ten virgins held that oil represented the Holy Spirit; the Bridegroom could

¹²⁵ *COGE*, 1.19 (December 1, 1910), p. 2.

¹²⁶ *COGE*, 1.19 (December 1, 1910), p. 2.

¹²⁷ *COGE*, 7.6 (February 5, 1916), p. 2.

¹²⁸ See Land's very helpful discussion of the integration of orthodoxy, orthopathy and orthopraxy, p. 41-44.

¹²⁹ *COGE*, 7.29 (July 15, 1916), p. 4.

return at any time; some would be ready [i.e., Spirit-filled] some would not.¹³⁰ Land explains, “Indeed the transcendent presence of God among the people in an outpouring seen as the ‘restoration of Pentecost’, is that which gives coherence to the Pentecostal testimony, practice and affections. The Latter Rain restoration of Pentecostal power was for last-days evangelization. Their mission was to warn the church to repent, consecrate, put on the robes of white, and get oil in the lamp before the Bridegroom appeared.”¹³¹

Tomlinson and his followers in the Church of God approached their Christian vocation with military zeal. The opening chapter of *The Last Great Conflict*, first published in 1913 begins with these words,

Satan is mustering his forces and drafting every man and woman into his service that is possible for him to procure. The smoke of an awful battle is already rising from the battle field where the skirmishers are engaged. But it is now high time for the regulars, to advance with the full equipment of Pentecost, and to pour into the ranks of the enemy the shot and shell, grape and canister of gospel truth and power until the roar of the cannons can be heard all over the world as they belch forth with tremendous fury their deadly discharges.¹³²

For Tomlinson this battle was being waged, and had always been waged, by the true Church of God.¹³³ He wrote, “The Church of God that is now making such rapid strides into prominence is not a little new man made affair as men suppose; it is the same original, gigantic Church that blazed out and wrought havoc to Satan’s devices and man made Judaism of two thousand years ago.”¹³⁴ So to be a member of the “great Church of God” was to be on the side of right, to be at the center of God’s plan.

It is in this ethos of Last Days passion that Euterpie Saunders and

¹³⁰ Seymour’s sermon, which also followed this interpretation, is found in *AF*, 1:5 (January, 1907), p. 2. The Pentecostal Holiness writer, G. F. Taylor, argued for this interpretation in his book *The Spirit and the Bride*. The book was advertised extensively in *The Bridegroom’s Messenger* in January 1908 with this endorsement: “This book deals with the present Pentecostal outpouring, giving the Scripture for various works of the Holy Spirit, and setting forth the qualifications for membership in the Bride of Christ” [1.6 (January 15, 1908), p. 2].

¹³¹ Land, p. 54.

¹³² Tomlinson, *The Last Great Conflict*, p. 21.

¹³³ Despite this type of exclusive language, Tomlinson did have fellowship with other Pentecostals. It was Cashwell who had preached the sermon the night of Tomlinson’s Spirit baptism and Tomlinson had been a corresponding editor for *TBM*. In 1914 he was invited to the formative meetings of the Assemblies of God in Hot Springs, Arkansas, but declined because of the differences in the understanding of sanctification. Tomlinson did contend that the Church of God was the *true* church and the Bible church and that others would “see the light” on this.

¹³⁴ Tomlinson, p. 160.

hundreds of others like her decided once and for all to take Jesus as their Healer.

C. Origins of Illness

The members and leaders of the early Church of God differed little from their foremothers and forefathers in the Healing movement in regard to the origins of illness. Tomlinson attributed all sickness and sin to the fall of Adam and Eve. He understood Christ's mission to be one of recovery and now He and "His loyal army" were in "battle array against sin, sickness and the devil."¹³⁵ Since the Fall, humanity had been plagued by sin and all of its effects. One of the most visible of these effects was sickness.

At some point, early Pentecostals, began to attribute at least some illnesses not only to the work of the devil but to demon possession. Montgomery had written of Yoakum's casting out demons from alcoholics. In 1916, a letter to *The Evangel* talked of "driving the demon out" in relation to sickness, rather than using ointments "on the outside". To drive out the demon was to "scatter the disease."¹³⁶ A poem by Grace Elwood of Key West, Florida also alluded to demons as the source of illness:

It may take many long days of fasting,
And praying the answer to gain;
To drive out the old stubborn demon
That causes the aches and pains.¹³⁷

A series by F. J. Lee on "Demonology," later reprinted in book form, ran in the summer of 1920. These three articles attributed many afflictions and illness to the work of demons. The first two articles were titled "Disease Spiritual." The first, in dialogue with the recent findings of medical science, discussed diseases and germs carried by insects. Lee argued that "germs and flies were allies to Satan."¹³⁸ He based his argument on the name given to Satan, Beelzebub, which could be interpreted "god of flies." Flies, he noted were one of the plagues on Egypt. He noted that not all diseases could be healed by medicines; these, he said, were inflicted by demons. When the demon was cast out of even these incurable diseases, healing would begin. The second article, attributed various afflictions such as rheumatism and

¹³⁵ *COGE*, 11.49 (December 11, 1920), p. 1.

¹³⁶ *COGE*, 7.24 (June 10, 1916), p. 2.

¹³⁷ *COGE*, 11.43 (October 23, 1920), p. 4.

¹³⁸ *COGE*, 11.25 (June 19, 1920), p. 3.

swelling to demons.¹³⁹

The third article, titled “Pharmaceutics,” discussed medicines which he held to be of Satanic origin.¹⁴⁰ Based on the Greek word *pharmakeion*, which meant sorcery, Lee determined that some medicines were prepared as the result of “commerce with evil spirits.” He noted that this did not include all medicines. Some were manufactured to work with nature in its natural healing process. These were acceptable for use by those outside of the church. The article goes on to discuss drug, alcohol, and tobacco usage and the toll taken on the human life by these addictive substances. He asserts that the first usage is an act of the will, but continued usage opens the person up to demonic activity, as the senses are impaired.

The fourth article, “Signs and Wonders”, discusses demonic counterfeits of Pentecostal signs and wonders and has no bearing on the origins of illness.¹⁴¹ However, in the fifth article, Lee attributes some forms of insanity to demonic activity.¹⁴² He contends that even the soul and body of a Christian could be “played upon” by evil spirits, though the demon could not touch his/her spirit. A similar view was held by Bert H. Doss, who wrote in 1922, “According to the word of God, the Lord ‘went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil: for God was with him.’ Acts 10:38....If a demon or devil has preyed upon your body it can be cast out, for the Bible says they that believe in the name of the Lord shall cast out devils. Are you a believer? There are various kinds of demons, any spirit that seizes your body and wrecks you mentally or physically is of the devil.”¹⁴³

A later article by Lee attributed some illnesses to punishment for sin.¹⁴⁴ This view was based on the story of rebellious Israel in the wilderness, who “got into a nest of fiery serpents.” Their healing came through repentance.

An instructional piece on how to receive divine healing reveals that there was room for holding in tension that diseases could originate from different sources. W. S. Hodge wrote in 1922, “But there are other conditions of a more particular nature and these are dependent upon the source from which the disease came. Of course sin in the beginning was the first cause of

¹³⁹ *COGE*, 11.26 (June 26, 1920), p. 3.

¹⁴⁰ *COGE*, 11.27 (July 3, 1920), p. 3.

¹⁴¹ *COGE*, 11.34 (August 22, 1920), p. 3.

¹⁴² *COGE*, 11.36 (September 4, 1920), p. 3.

¹⁴³ *COGE*, 13.9 (March 4, 1922), p. 3.

¹⁴⁴ *COGE*, 14.14 (April 7, 1923), p. 3.

this calamity but the Scriptures plainly teach that sickness is now brought upon us by causes proceeding from three different sources: Nature, Satan and God Himself.” Natural causes are defined as “overwork and mental strain.” The works of Satan were identified as afflictions or bondage such as was suffered by the woman in Luke 13 or by Job. Illness inflicted by God is the result of sin and may be removed by God after repentance.¹⁴⁵

Discerning the cause becomes a necessary step in healing, though no instruction is given regarding how one is to discern. Though it is apparent that the Church of God traced illness directly to Satan, there is also room for illness resulting from natural causes and as discipline from God. A further look at illness sent by or allowed by God in the form of testing will be examined later.

D. Divine Healing Provided in the Atonement

Though the Church of God did not develop or publish a formal statement of faith until 1948 (owing to the early anti-creedal stance), early “teachings” regarding right doctrine, as interpreted from Scripture, were in existence as early as 1910.¹⁴⁶ One of the early tenets of the Church of God was that divine healing was provided for all in the atonement. Tomlinson followed the lead of those in the nineteenth century when he boldly stated in a headline: “Healing for Our Bodies the Same as Salvation for Our Souls.”¹⁴⁷ Seeing the parallelism in Psalm 103.2-3, Tomlinson warns against forgetting these two benefits of the cross. He exhorts the church to read Isaiah 53 carefully and Matthew’s interpretation in 8.16. Just as there is no other way by which salvation is provided, there is no other way in which healing is provided.

John C. Jernigan, in a 1923 issue of *The Evangel* devoted to the doctrine of divine healing, explained that healing was “obtained through the sufferings of Christ.” He commented on 1 Peter 1.11, “We learn from the context that it was the prophets of old that looked down the line of ages and saw the sufferings of Christ and the many blessings that were to follow. One of the blessings was divine healing for our bodies. This was made possible for us by the stripes that were laid on Christ’s back in the judgment hall.” He

¹⁴⁵ *COGE*, 13.21 (May 27, 1922), p. 3

¹⁴⁶ See the above discussion on Spurling and Tomlinson, and *The Last Great Conflict*, p. 165.

¹⁴⁷ *COGE*, 1.19 (December 1, 1910), p. 1.

divides his sermon into two sections: 1) the sufferings of Christ and 2) the glories that are to follow. In the first section, Jernigan described the scourging and crucifixion of Jesus. The glories are identified as forgiveness of sins, sanctification and healing of the body.¹⁴⁸

Testimonies of those healed¹⁴⁹ and banner headlines in other issues¹⁵⁰ consistently locate the provision for healing in the atonement.

E. Signs Following Believers

One cannot read the early issues of *The Church of God Evangel* without being struck by the prominence of the Mark 16 text in the healing theology and eschatology of these early Pentecostals. Headlines exhort and affirm that signs [driving out demons, speaking in tongues, taking up serpents, laying hands on the sick] will follow believers.¹⁵¹ Lead articles explained the text and attempted to demolish all doubt concerning its viability. Testimonies offered proof that these signs did follow.

As at Azusa, this text was seen to be the last message of Jesus to His disciples.¹⁵² Its reliability was not questioned. Tomlinson pointed to the fact that publishers of Bibles continued to include this text, which pointed to the work of the Holy Spirit in its preservation. The Church of God held to and stood for “the whole Bible rightly divided.”¹⁵³ Other Pentecostals were in error for quoting and practicing only part of the text.¹⁵⁴

Tomlinson held that the clauses beginning with “they shall” constituted commands of Jesus. By this he endorsed and encouraged casting out demons, speaking in tongues, handling serpents and laying hands on the sick. He interpreted the clause “If they drink any deadly thing” to mean that it was not to be a normal occurrence, “to be displayed as frequent as the others”.¹⁵⁵ He would not allow that it was just a promise that one who was

¹⁴⁸ *COGE*, 14.14 (April 7, 1923), p. 4.

¹⁴⁹ See *COGE*, 9.39 (September 28, 1918), p. 2.

¹⁵⁰ *COGE*, 10.25 (June 21, 1910), p. 1 and 12.14 (April 2, 1921), p. 1.

¹⁵¹ See *COGE*, 9.26 (June 29, 1918), p. 1 and 11.15 (April 10, 1920), p. 1, for example.

¹⁵² *COGE*, 1.19 (December 1, 1910), p. 1.

¹⁵³ *COGE*, 11.15 (April 10, 1920), p. 1.

¹⁵⁴ *COGE*, 11.15 (April 10, 1920). However, Sam C. Perry, a leader in the Church of God, does just this in an article on “Healing for the Body” in 8.3 (January 20, 1917), p. 3. This is interesting because, Tomlinson as the editor of the periodical has apparently allowed this selective quotation on Perry’s part.

¹⁵⁵ *COGE*, 8.14 (April 14, 1917), p. 1.

accidentally poisoned¹⁵⁶ or poisoned as a result of persecution would be spared, but that it was a demonstration of God's power which called for a "special anointing".¹⁵⁷ Tomlinson appealed to an instance reported in Eusebius' history in which it is said that "Justus, surnamed Barsabas" drank poison and was not harmed.¹⁵⁸ Sadly, in 1921, an evangelist in Texas, V. A. Bishop, died in a revival service about one hour after having ingested "strychnine or arsenic." The incident was eventually reported on the front page of *The Church of God Evangel*.¹⁵⁹ Tomlinson's initial reaction to the news of Bishop's death was to warn his readers of "evil spirits and presumption."¹⁶⁰ By the next issue of the *Evangel*, while acknowledging that this is a "new experience to all of us", Tomlinson is able to discern the hand of providence even in this unfortunate event citing Romans 8.28.¹⁶¹

Tomlinson rejected the interpretation that "taking up serpents" referred to an accidental occurrence such as is found in Acts 28.3-6, where Paul accidentally picked up a piece of firewood on which was a poisonous snake. He rebuttals, "Paul did not aim to take his serpent up. He did not know he was about him till he was fastened on his hand, and then he shook him off as quickly as possible. Applying the same analogy, we are not to lay our hands on the sick intentionally, and when we do get our hands on them accidentally we must shake them loose as quickly as possible, as if it is dangerous to keep them there."¹⁶² Clearly, for Tomlinson, taking up serpents was commanded as a sign.

The testimonies which are recorded in *The Evangel* bear out that taking up serpents was a fairly common practice among Church of God members. While it appears that in some cases the snakes (normally rattlesnakes or copperheads) were brought in by outsiders to test the Pentecostals,¹⁶³ a few cases seem to support that the participants planned the event.¹⁶⁴ In most of the

¹⁵⁶ The text was appealed to in a testimony of a baby healed after poison ingestion in 11.25 (June 19, 1920), p. 4.

¹⁵⁷ *COGE*, 8.14 (April 14, 1917), p. 1.

¹⁵⁸ *COGE*, 8.14 (April 14, 1917), p. 1.

¹⁵⁹ *COGE*, 12.19 (May 7, 1921), p. 1. See also the initial report of Bishop's death in the previous issue of the *COGE* 12.18 (April 30, 1921), p. 2.

¹⁶⁰ *COGE* 12.18 (April 30, 1921), p. 2.

¹⁶¹ *COGE*, 12.19 (May 7, 1921), p. 1.

¹⁶² *COGE*, 9.26 (June 29, 1918), p. 1.

¹⁶³ See *COGE*, 7.35 (August 26, 1916), p. 2. and 13.26 (July 1, 1922), p. 2.

¹⁶⁴ In *COGE*, 7.42 (October 14, 1916), p. 1, Tomlinson tells readers that he has prepared the people and mayor of Harriman, Tennessee for the General Assembly by telling him that "we talk in tongues, pray for the sick, cast out devils, take up serpents, etc."

reports it is not possible to tell if the serpents were brought in by outsiders or insiders. Other dangerous exhibitions of God's power included handling hot coals¹⁶⁵ or hot chimneys,¹⁶⁶ apparently as a demonstration of the kind of deliverance from fire exhibited in Daniel 3.¹⁶⁷ Tomlinson explains that it is the power of love which allows the serpent to be conquered and the "violence of fire quenched."¹⁶⁸

Tomlinson did warn against "Extremes and Extremists" in 1916, but extremism was interpreted as overemphasizing one of the commands over against the others. None were to be made a test of fellowship, and should not be made a "hobby" at the expense of the fruit of the Spirit.¹⁶⁹ He also warned against presumption.¹⁷⁰

Thomas B. Buckalew warned in 1919 that one should not wait to see a manifestation or a sign before believing. The signs were to *follow* believers: "Healing does not depend on manifestation, but on FAITH in the Word of God."¹⁷¹ Lee warned that Satan could counterfeit miracles and that believers should resist Satan.¹⁷²

The words of Jesus in Mark 16 proved that the ministry of Jesus was to continue after Jesus' earthly life. Perry wrote that it was "a sign given to holiness in general and for all time and with no particular limitations or restrictions."¹⁷³ If the signs were not there, then one should examine themselves, and couched in military terminology, "see if we have disobeyed orders."¹⁷⁴ Again, as at Azusa, signs following becomes the litmus test. They were also the proof that God was blessing the Church, that "The great Church of God is moving onward. The gifts, graces, fruits and signs are being manifested."¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁵ COGE, 7.24 (June 10, 1916), p. 2; 14.5 (February 3, 1923), p. 4; 14.6 (February 10, 1923), p. 3; 14.11 (March 17, 1923), p. 4.

¹⁶⁶ COGE, 7.24 (June 10, 1916), p. 2; 11.22 (May 29, 1920), p. 1.

¹⁶⁷ COGE, 14.11 (March 17, 1923), p. 4.

¹⁶⁸ COGE, 7.51 (December 16, 1916), p. 1.

¹⁶⁹ COGE, 7.37 (September 9, 1916), p. 1.

¹⁷⁰ COGE, 11.38 (September 18, 1920), p. 1.

¹⁷¹ COGE, 10.10 (March 8, 1919), p. 4.

¹⁷² COGE, 11.34 (August 22, 1920), p. 3.

¹⁷³ COGE, 8.5 (February 3, 1917), p. 3.

¹⁷⁴ COGE, 10.6 (February 8, 1919), p. 2.

¹⁷⁵ COGE, 10.9 (March 1, 1919), p. 1.

F. Means of Healing

As the Church of God believed in the “whole Bible rightly divided,” it certainly believed that God would provide a plan for healing. Divine healing was provided in the atonement and should be a sign found in the New Testament church, and it was to be appropriated according to the plan found in the Word of God. For the Church of God, that plan was found in two texts: James 5.14-15 and Mark 16.18.

B. H. Doss wrote in 1921, “The plan of God, relative to healing is clearly set forth in this text [James 5.14-15]. It is the strongest proof text in the New Testament showing that healing was to remain permanent in the Church. James was not trying to prove here that healing is a Christian doctrine, for it had become an established thing long before this. His entire epistle is not so much of a doctrinal discourse but deals more with a practical application of previously established Christian doctrines.”¹⁷⁶ Another writer, W. S. Hodge, explained that the plan was “not arbitrary but is conditional.” Standards were set forth by James.¹⁷⁷

This plan and its standards were adhered to by minister and layperson alike. The testimony of Clemencia J. Mallory, an evangelist from Crooked Island, Bahamas reveals this:

I want to sound a note of praise to our King of kings and Lord of lords [sic] through the Evangel and tell how He wonderfully healed me. Two weeks after I arrived from the battlefield, which was in August, I was sick with my head and suffering intensely. The elders of the church were sent for. They prayed over me and anointed me with oil. James 5:14, 15. I felt revived from the prayers; but I did not get healed. I wondered why I did not get healed. I knew the Lord had always healed me when I was sick, but at this time there was something wrong.

James says, ‘Confess your faults one to another.’ A few days later I was taken worse. My body got so painful and was swollen. The devil said, ‘Now the doctor will have to operate on you.’ Well, I just looked to God and asked Him to heal me and if there were anything in the way to show it to me. He showed me a settlement He wanted me to go to during the time I was on the battlefield and I disobeyed the Lord. The moment I confessed that I had disobeyed the Lord and told Him I would go where He wanted me to go I was healed immediately. All the pain and swelling left my body. I leaped and shouted and gave God the glory.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ *COGE*, 12.26 (June 25, 1921), p. 3..

¹⁷⁷ *COGE*, 13.21 (May 27, 1922), p. 3.

¹⁷⁸ *COGE*, 14.27 (July 7, 1923), p. 2.

The plan also included Jesus' instructions in Mark 16.8, to lay hands on the sick. This was not only a sign but a command and was a part of the God-given means. Readers of *The Evangel* sent testimonies of having been healed as a result of ministers or elders laying hands on them. The term elder, seems to have been understood rather loosely and not only in the sense of an officer of the church. Doss wrote, "He did not say anybody and everybody anoint with oil. We must call them who come believing that anointing you in the name of the Lord and the prayer of faith shall save the sick and the Lord shall raise them up" [sic].¹⁷⁹ There are records of evangelists,¹⁸⁰ "saints,"¹⁸¹ "sisters,"¹⁸² "brothers,"¹⁸³ and even Spirit-filled children¹⁸⁴ both laying hands on and anointing the sick. Tomlinson explained, "We do not consider that men who are ordained as ministers are the only ones to pray, but anybody can pray. And often a few of the members pray for the sick and anoint them with oil and the sick are healed just as well as when the ministers pray."¹⁸⁵ Prayer for healing could be offered in a church service or in the home of the sick. The prayer might be protracted, requiring "tarrying" or even fasting until there was "complete victory."¹⁸⁶

Tomlinson wrote, "There is no other plan given in the Bible for healing except through Christ by the wonder-working power of God."¹⁸⁷ This plan did not include the use of medicine or physicians. He continued, "Some say they believe in asking God to bless the means or remedies, but beloved, the Bible does not give us such directions. People have a good many opinions and practices that are contrary to the teaching of Scriptures."¹⁸⁸ *The Evangel* boldly exhorted, in headlines, in 1919: "Don't call for Medicine When You get Sick, but Call on the Lord!"¹⁸⁹

To take medicine or remedies was to trust in the work of man, or "the

¹⁷⁹ *COGE*, 13.9 (March 4, 1922), p. 3.

¹⁸⁰ *COGE*, 7.21 (May 20, 1916), p.2.

¹⁸¹ *COGE*, 9.44 (November 2, 1918), p. 2.

¹⁸² *COGE*, 12.27 (July 2, 1921), p. 2.

¹⁸³ *COGE*, 8.42 (October 27, 1917), p. 2.

¹⁸⁴ *COGE*, 9.44 (November 2, 1918), p. 3.

¹⁸⁵ *COGE*, 13.23 (June 10, 1922), p. 1.

¹⁸⁶ *COGE*, 12.40 (October 1, 1921), p. 2.

¹⁸⁷ *COGE*, 1.19 (December 1, 1910), p. 2.

¹⁸⁸ *COGE*, 1.19 (December 1, 1910), p. 2.

¹⁸⁹ *COGE*, 10.19 (May 10, 1919), p. 1.

arm of the flesh”¹⁹⁰ and not Christ. W. H. Roach wrote, “ ‘Go up into Gilead and take balm, O virgin, the daughter of Egypt: in vain shalt thou use many medicines; for thou shalt not be cured.’ (Jer. 46: 11) I have seen this fulfilled. I have seen people use every remedy and medicine that could be thought of and all in vain, Jesus is the only remedy.” [sic]¹⁹¹

A. J. Tomlinson considered medicine a poison, “often more deadly than the disease.”¹⁹² Taking medicine was disobedience and to take it was to “Dishonor His Name” said one headline.¹⁹³ To be disloyal in this area was to be “an infidel.” He wrote, “If one refuses or ignores these instructions and resorts to the use of medicine, that one is a disloyal subject and, following the above analogy, that person is an infidel because loyalty means fidelity and is the opposite of infidelity, and an infidel is one that rejects Christ and His doctrine.”¹⁹⁴ If a Spirit-filled person resorted to the use of medicine, he or she had “fallen from grace”¹⁹⁵ though he wouldn’t go so far as to say that one could not be a Christian if they used medicine.¹⁹⁶

Illness, then, could become a test of loyalty or fidelity. Tomlinson contended that it was “Better to be Loyal to Christ and Die Than to be Disloyal and Live.”¹⁹⁷ As one woman testified, “I would rather suffer in my body and have Jesus with me than have ease in my body and no Jesus to lean upon.”¹⁹⁸ For some this test resulted in legal problems, especially when there were children involved.¹⁹⁹ Some churches were not allowed to hold services unless vaccinated for smallpox.²⁰⁰ Children were not allowed to attend school because they were not vaccinated.²⁰¹ At least one such case, in Florida, went to court, and the church’s position was upheld.²⁰²

For others the test was one of personal suffering.²⁰³ J. B. Ellis wrote, “If

¹⁹⁰ *COGE*, 11.22 (May 29, 1920), p. 3.

¹⁹¹ *COGE*, 10.49 (December 13, 1919), p. 4.

¹⁹² *COGE*, 11.49 (December 11, 1920), p. 1.

¹⁹³ *COGE*, 9.2 (January 12, 1918), p. 1.

¹⁹⁴ *COGE*, 7.15 (April 8, 1916), p. 1.

¹⁹⁵ *COGE*, 9.2 (January 12, 1918), p. 1.

¹⁹⁶ *COGE*, 11.49 (December 11, 1920), p. 1.

¹⁹⁷ *COGE*, 11.49 (December 11, 1920), p. 1.

¹⁹⁸ *COGE*, 14.35 (September 1, 1923), p. 2.

¹⁹⁹ See *COGE*, 7.49 (December 2, 1916), p. 2.; 8.40 (October 13, 1917), p. 3.

²⁰⁰ *COGE*, 9.10 (March 9, 1918), p. 2.

²⁰¹ *COGE*, 9.9 (March 2, 1918), p. 3.

²⁰² *COGE*, 11.20 (May 15, 1920), p. 1.

²⁰³ A. J. Tomlinson’s own account of this kind of test during the illness of his wife is found in *The Last Great Conflict*, chapter 1 (pp. 19-28). Here, he proclaims, “The doctrine of ‘healing’ is true if we all die. We had better obey God and die than disobey Him and live” (p. 20).

God heals us it is to manifest His power to the world; if He does not it gives us an opportunity to show that we are willing to suffer with Him and the Bible says, 'If we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him.'"²⁰⁴ An obituary for Lula G. Haynes reported that "she was faithful even unto death....Brother Haynes asked her several questions such as these: 'Lula, do you want any medicine?' She answered: 'No.' Are you glad that you have never taken any?" She replied: 'Indeed I am.' 'Do you want me and the children to keep on in the fight?' She said: 'Yes, a little while longer.' 'Is the Lord here, Lula?' To this she answered: 'All round about.'"²⁰⁵

A favorite gospel story appealed to was the story of the woman in Mark 5. This woman had spent all of her money on physicians, to no avail. But her faith made her whole. Her experience was appealed to by those who decided to trust in Jesus as healer and not in physicians. "Pressing in," "touching the hem of His garment" and "healing virtue" are phrases that run throughout healing stories, poems, prayer requests, sermons and testimonies.²⁰⁶ As in her story, physicians were not trusted because they became rich off of the suffering of others. Mrs. B. L. Shepherd wrote,

You can look at the doctors and see that they live better than most any laboring class of people. They have finer homes and more of the world's goods and it is all because the gospel standard has not been preached and practiced enough by Christians. The world will always have the arm of the flesh to lean upon. Why do we want to follow their example? We have the Great Physician and we should put our case in His hands and leave it there. He needs no one with whom to hold a consultation. He is fully able to diagnose the case and needs no help at all.²⁰⁷

Like other Pentecostals, the Church of God advocated anointed handkerchiefs be given to the sick.²⁰⁸ These were sent to *The Evangel* office and prayed over there and at the Cleveland church where Tomlinson was pastor. In 1922 he explained how this process worked:

²⁰⁴ *COGE*, 14.3 (January 20, 1923), p. 2.

²⁰⁵ *COGE*, 8.36 (September 15, 1917), p. 2.

²⁰⁶ See *COGE*, 9.13 (March 30, 1918), p. 2; 10.34 (August 23, 1919), p. 4; 10.49 (December 13, 1919), p. 4; 11.43 (October 23, 1920), p. 4; 12.50 (December 17, 1921), p. 3; 13.41 (October 14, 1922), p. 3; 14.14 (April 7, 1923), p. 1; 14.35 (September 1, 1923), p. 2.

²⁰⁷ *COGE*, 10.34 (August 23, 1919), p. 3. Shepherd may have been informed in her view by Tomlinson's somewhat Marxist's critique of the medical community in *The Last Great Conflict*, pp. 94-98.

²⁰⁸ See *COGE*, 11.17 (April 24, 1920), p. 2; 13.40 (October 7, 1922), p. 2; 13.42 (December 21, 1922); 14.2 (January 13, 1923), p. 4.

We pray for the sick every day, but on Sunday about 12:30 we have special prayer and every Sunday we have from twenty to forty handkerchiefs to pray over besides quite a number of requests. When this time comes we spread the handkerchiefs out on the altar and the saints gather around and the prayers are offered up in the earnestness of our souls. We are often reminded of the experience of the apostles when the sick folks were brought in on couches and beds and placed in the streets with a hope that even a shadow of Peter might fall upon them. We think of every handkerchief representing a sick person, and when we have forty or fifty handkerchiefs we think of being in the midst of that many sick folks. And oh, how the saints pray!²⁰⁹

In addition, some readers began to use *The Evangel* as an anointing medium. Alice Webster wrote, "My husband had the 'flu' and was very ill and we were living away from saints so we could not send for anyone to come and pray as we were strangers and we knew of no one who trusted the Lord for their healing so we just got the Evangel and laid it on his head (the pain was in his head) and praise the Lord, he was healed."²¹⁰ For this couple, the publication served as a link to the community of God and its elders. In a similar way, the Bible could be placed on a sick person as a kind of anointing.²¹¹

G. Healing as Vocation

Given the intentional militancy and Last Days passion which engulfed the Church of God, it is not surprising that praying for the sick and preaching divine healing would be seen as an obligation laid upon all Christians, but especially on ministers of the gospel.²¹² A preacher was to be a person who believed in healing and could pray the prayer of faith: "He who does not firmly believe that God heals the sick in answer to prayer, is not fully qualified for the Lord's work."²¹³ Further, it was the duty of a Pentecostal minister to be "subject to a call from any member of his congregation at any time, and it is his duty to respond. James says he is to take with him, his oil vial, faith in God and common sense."²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ COGE, 13.23 (June 10, 1922), p. 1.

²¹⁰ COGE, 13.18 (May 6, 1922), p. 4; see also 12.40 (October 1, 1921), p. 4.

²¹¹ COGE, 11.30 (July 24, 1920), p. 4.

²¹² Tomlinson wrote in *The Last Great Conflict*, "Teach divine healing? Yes! Practice it and no other, live or die? Yes! Yes!! Amen!!! Be bolder in it than ever! This is fighting the enemy on his own territory, bearding the lion in his den, in the last great conflict" (p. 25).

²¹³ COGE, 12.26 (June 25, 1921), p. 3.

²¹⁴ COGE, 12.26 (June 25, 1921), p. 3.

Being a Christian was likened to being a soldier in a letter from J. C. Bower. As soldiers, there was training necessary in order to be able to obey orders fully. "If we want the power to heal the sick in Jesus' name like the Apostles, let us leave our homes if necessary, sacrifice our lives, like they did, obey the orders of our Captain, which is Jesus Christ, and believe like Peter did, when he and John commanded the lame man who was born lame, to rise up and walk."²¹⁵

H. Ultimate Healing

When reading *The Church of God Evangel*, the lack of organization is apparent. Though the front page usually carried a lead article, the remainder of the paper is arranged randomly, with testimonies, sermons, announcements of revivals, church business announcements, camp meeting or revival reports and advertisements placed seemingly as they arrived at the press. What is most striking in this Pentecostal paper, where divine healing is preached in bold headlines, is the number of obituaries published.

The obituaries often tell the story of the suffering of the saint, the prayers that were offered over time, the ups and downs of seeming victory and then relapse and final words of the dying person, often accompanied by worship of God. These obituaries reveal what is stated elsewhere; a person was to die in the faith as they had lived in the faith. The account of the death of Ruth Perry, wife of Sam C. Perry, a prominent evangelist and overseer in the Church of God illustrates this: "She had been ill for about a year and many of the saints prayed for her and often seemed encouraged as they prayed. It seemed that victory was coming and it did! but not as we had tho't. She was victorious, but in death."²¹⁶

Apparently *The Church of God Evangel* was criticized for printing death notices. This notice appeared in January of 1920:

Our critics say we ought to give incidents of healing instead of notices of death. Well, let me explain a little. For several years we refused to publish obituaries and death notices. We thought it was not best. But the requests for space for these kept coming. Our people wanted these notices given. At last I yielded, very reluctantly at first but the more I thought about it the freer I felt in it. It is like this: We are working to get people saved and ready for heaven, then when they

²¹⁵ COGE, 10.6 (February 8, 1919), p. 2.

²¹⁶ COGE, 9.44 (November 2, 1918), p. 2.

have gone to heaven and our work has been thus far successful, where is there any reasonable objections for publishing it abroad. Paul says it is far better to depart than to remain. And the Bible records the death of many and if the Bible can afford to record the death of so many good people, (and bad too) then we can do it too....The Evangel stands for healing by the power of God just as firmly as it ever did, and it takes pleasure in publishing incidents of healing by the power of God, and almost every week there is mention made of healings, but we are also willing to tell of those who have gone to heaven. No one objects to telling of one going to Europe, Africa or South America, then why object to telling of one who has gone to heaven.²¹⁷

Remarkably, these Pentecostals seemed to be able to hold in tension God's will to heal and his will not to heal. Prayer for healing could be offered for those who were suffering until the last breath was breathed. And then one could rejoice that "they had safely landed on the other shore."²¹⁸ John C. Jernigan wrote in 1923, "As for me and myself I will say with Job of old, 'Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him,' and I will not forget all His benefits, who healeth all my diseases."²¹⁹

For the Church of God, walking in the way also meant dying in the way.

IV. Healing Theology and Practice in The Church of God in Christ

Introduction

Incorporated as "The Church of God in Christ" in 1897, "the church was the first southern holiness denomination to become legally chartered."²²⁰ Under the influence of Azusa Street, the church became thoroughly Pentecostal in 1907. Many Pentecostal ministers, both black and white, were ordained by C. H. Mason, its African-American founder. Therefore, the church holds a significant place in the theological development of Pentecostalism. Because Pentecostalism has been such a major part of the African-American ethos, and because of the apparent link between African spirituality and Pentecostalism, it is essential to examine the beliefs of this group.

Though the denomination began publication of a periodical, *The Whole*

²¹⁷ COGE, 11.5 (January 31, 1920), p. 2.

²¹⁸ COGE, 11.5 (January 31, 1920), p. 2.

²¹⁹ COGE, 14.14 (April 7, 1923), p. 4.

²²⁰ Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, p. 71.

Truth, in 1907, little of the earliest materials have survived or been preserved. What has survived are historical sketches, written in later years by family members or successors to Mason's ministry.²²¹ These contain stories told by Mason in the first person. Also surviving are a few sermons preached between 1915 and 1929. One copy of *The Whole Truth* (Volume IV, No. 4 October 1911) has been located.

Though much of the primary source material is unavailable, owing to the importance of this branch of American Pentecostalism, a brief analysis is offered. Therefore, the following analysis of the healing theology and practice is not as detailed as that of other groups, but is based on a thorough examination of extant materials.

A. History of The Church of God in Christ

Histories of The Church of God in Christ are inevitably told as the story of its founder, Charles Harrison Mason. Mason served as Bishop of the church from its organization in 1896 until his death in 1961, and so its story is very much his story.

Mason, born in 1866, on a farm near Memphis, Tennessee, was the son of Missionary Baptist church members. His mother had been converted during the era of American slavery. He was a deeply spiritual child, having visions and dreams and experiencing a dramatic healing which led to his conversion and baptism.²²²

In 1893, Mason felt a call to ministry and received a local license from a Missionary Baptist church.²²³ After some hesitation, Mason surrendered to the call, leaving the Arkansas Baptist College after only three months.²²⁴ Mason testified to being "sanctified through the Word" in 1894 and preached his first holiness sermon at a Baptist church in Preston, Arkansas. This led to a revival

²²¹ The histories and collections available are: Ithiel Clemmons, *Bishop C. H. Mason and the Roots of the Church of God in Christ* (Bakersfield, CA: no publisher, 1996). Elnora L. Lee, *A Life Fully Dedicated to God* (No publisher or location, copyright applied for 1967); Elsie W. Mason, *The Man, Charles Harrison Mason (1866-1961)* (No publisher, location or date. Reprinted by Bass, Wayne M. and W. L. Porter. Memphis, TN: Pioneer Series Publication, 1979); J. O. Patterson, German R. Ross and Julia Mason Atkins, *History and Formative Years of the Church of God in Christ with Excerpts from the Life and Works of its Founder--Bishop C. H. Mason* (Memphis, TN: Church of God in Christ Publishing House, 1969); Bishop D. L. Lindsey, compiler. *Church of God in Christ: History, Theology and Structure*, First Edition (Second Jurisdiction of Arkansas, n.d).

²²² Patterson, p. 14.

²²³ Mason, p. 8.

²²⁴ Mason, p. 9.

at the church and many conversions.²²⁵ Following this he served as pastor of Baptist congregations in Selma, Alabama and Jackson, Mississippi. Mason writes of this period, "...when I began to lift up Christ by word, example, and precept in my ministry [sic], the word drew the people from the streets, road sides and the utmost parts of the country. Very soon God's word began to sanctify the people everywhere He sent me."²²⁶ Mason continued to preach uncompromisingly against sin and published a booklet which was a " 'treatise on the twelfth chapter of I Corinthians, under the title: 'The Work of the Holy Spirit in the Churches.'"²²⁷ In addition, he and C. P. Jones began publication of *The Truth*. Mason felt impressed to call a Holiness Convention in June of 1896. This was not well-received by the Baptist clergy. Mason writes,

We began the meeting on Sunday, June 6, 1897, and continued two weeks, studying the Bible and praying night and day. But we were persecuted by the churches...Associations and sects combined against us. But this persecution compelled us to build another sect, which was not our aim nor desire. We contended that Christ is all. But we were extreme in our fight. The times demanded it. But we, from the first, only wanted to exalt Jesus and put down man-made traditions.²²⁸

Mason and the other ministers [apparently Jones, Kelly Bucks, A. Reed, R. J. Temple, W. S. Pleasant] were rejected by the Baptist leadership. He describes court proceedings in which they were "put out."²²⁹ A time line of the history of the denomination which appeared in an August 1999 issue of *The Whole Truth* states that on July 23, 1899 Jones, Mason and their followers were "officially expelled from the National Baptist Convention."²³⁰

Mason and the others began a new denomination, a Holiness denomination, in 1897, giving it the name "The Church of God in Christ" based on 1 Thessalonians 2:14. The first church was established in Lexington, Mississippi, in "an old gin" [a cotton gin or mill?]. They continued facing persecution, even gunfire.²³¹ Mason describes those meetings: "The devil being stirred, shot in on us while some were shouting and praying."²³²

²²⁵ Mason, p. 10.

²²⁶ E. Lee, p. 8.

²²⁷ C. H. Mason quoted in Mason, p. 12.

²²⁸ Mason, p. 12-13.

²²⁹ Mason, p. 13.

²³⁰ "Reflections on COGIC'S Heritage", *TWT* (June-August 1999), p. 14.

²³¹ Mason, p. 13.

²³² Patterson, p. 16.

The persecution only enhanced the church in the public eye. The church was organized by Mason, Jones and Pleasant with sixty charter members.²³³ The congregation outgrew the gin, then another structure, finally requiring the construction of a brick church in 1906.

As reports from Azusa Street drifted eastward, Jones and Mason began to search the scriptures regarding the baptism in the Holy Spirit. They soon realized that they did not have the power described in the New Testament, though they may see the sick healed, the dead raised, or even demons exorcised and though they were being kept free from sin or sanctified.²³⁴ Mason declared, "I was led by the Spirit to go to Los Angeles, California, where the great fire of the latter rain of the Holy Ghost had fallen on many. It was in March, 1907, when I received Him, Jesus, my Lord, in the Holy Ghost."²³⁵

Mason remained at Azusa for five weeks. When he arrived in Memphis, he found that "the fire had fallen" before his arrival. Glenn Cook, of Los Angeles, had preached about the outpouring in Memphis and the church was already beginning to receive the experience. There followed a new dynamic ministry through Mason. He describes being guided and taught by the Spirit, giving messages in tongues, interpreting tongues, being given songs by the Holy Spirit, writing, and healing the sick.²³⁶

Jones and others parted company with The Church of God in Christ after the outpouring in 1907. The issue for Jones was initial evidence. Though he had been instrumental in convincing Mason that a further experience in the Holy Spirit was possible after sanctification, he was not convinced that tongues was the initial evidence.²³⁷

An August 1907 meeting was called in order to organize a "General Assembly of the Church of God in Christ, whose faith was founded on the Pentecostal movement." Mason was elected as Chief Overseer.²³⁸ Another meeting was called for 25 November to 14 December. This was the beginning of the annual National Convention or Holy Convocation. Lindsey explains that these dates were chosen because it followed the harvest

²³³ Lindsey, p. 2.

²³⁴ Patterson, p. 17.

²³⁵ Patterson, p. 17.

²³⁶ E. Lee, pp. 15-17.

²³⁷ Lindsey, p. 3.

²³⁸ Lindsey, p. 3. This meeting is listed as occurring in September 1907 in "Reflections."

season, giving the members and ministers who were farmers both time and the necessary finances to attend such a meeting. Mason encouraged what were considered progressive measures, such as the building of better edifices and the building of schools. He appointed overseers over the various jurisdictions and in the next decades set up the following National Departments: Young People's Willing Workers, Sunday School Department, Home and Foreign Mission Board, Women's Auxiliaries, with Mother Lizzie Roberson appointed as the first Supervisor of the Women's Work.²³⁹ In the decade between 1910 and 1920, three schools were established: Saints Industrial and Literary School in Lexington, Mississippi; Page Normal Industrial and Bible Institute in Hearne, Texas; and a Bible College in Little Rock, Arkansas. In addition, Mason sent teams of evangelists into major cities in the United States.²⁴⁰

Between the years 1910 and 1914, many white congregations and ministers merged with The Church of God in Christ. In 1914, however, in the difficult climate of southern racism, the white membership called for a separation, which culminated in the Hot Springs organizational meeting of the Assemblies of God.

The Church of God in Christ, as a result of Mason's own spiritual pilgrimage, stands firmly in the Holiness-Pentecostal tradition. The 1926 Year Book of the Church of God in Christ, as published by Mason, contained an "Affirmation of Faith" with the following introduction by Mason, "Because of the many false reports that have gone out concerning the church, I feel it's my duty to put this before the public that all may know the truth about what we believe and teach." The statement contains nine tenets: three pertain to conversion; three pertain to sanctification and holiness of life; one pertains to water baptism, one pertains to Spirit Baptism with the initial evidence of speaking in tongues and one to divine healing "in answer to the prayer of faith and laying on of hands according to the Scriptures."²⁴¹

B. Origins of Illness

Little is explicitly said about the origin(s) of sickness and disease.

²³⁹ Lindsey, pp. 5-6.

²⁴⁰ "Reflections," p. 15.

²⁴¹ Mason, "Affirmation of Faith" in *The Year Book of 1926* reprinted by J. R. Ramsey (Gloster, MS: n.d.).

There is a statement in a sermon on “God’s Judgments” which suggests that affliction is a judgment. In the case of a man who had done much “to hinder the word” with regard to Spirit Baptism, Mason writes, “After a time, that brother was brought down in his bed with an affliction....” In another case, a young boy shot a pistol into a tent meeting in Memphis where Mason was ministering. Mason, interceded on behalf of the people and the boy accidentally shot himself in the leg. The leg had to be amputated. Mason writes, “Consumption set up and soon he was dead; all from trying to hinder the word of God.”²⁴² It is obvious, from these cases, that Mason held that some sickness was the judgment of God upon those who tried to stop the work of God.

In a statement made by Mason on marriage, he speaks against “filthy spirits” or “seducing spirits” which “were using their bodies sick or well.”²⁴³ Though the exact meaning of the words is unclear, it may suggest that Mason understood some forms of sickness to come from demons. He also states that people had been healed through his ministry when “the enemy (the Devil)” was rebuked, apparently attributing some illnesses to Satan.²⁴⁴

Mason also counters the doctrine being taught by some which stated that a Christian would not have to face death. He gives this subject a lengthy treatment, offering scriptural support for his own view that “None of us has as yet the flesh that cannot die, for that which cannot die is not natural but spiritual.” However, he never discusses illness in the treatise or whether or not he believes that a Christian can be sick as the result of natural causes.²⁴⁵

In one sermon delivered on 1 December 1926, Mason refers to the suffering of Job, calling them “the perfections of God” which “work on a man.” From this one might assume that Mason understood some illness to come to the believer from the hand of God, but the evidence is not conclusive.²⁴⁶

C. Divine Healing in the Atonement

The “Affirmation of Faith” published in 1926 makes no statement about divine healing being provided in the atonement. However, in a sermon preached at the Holy Convocation by Mason in Memphis on November 28,

²⁴² E. Lee, pp. 67-68.

²⁴³ E. Lee, p. 66.

²⁴⁴ E. Lee, p. 16.

²⁴⁵ Patterson, pp. 41-44.

²⁴⁶ Mason, p. 27.

1925, he thanks God that “by Thy stripes we are healed.” Earlier, in the same sermon, he thanks God for the blood.²⁴⁷ He also states that “Jesus came to take away the power of evil and to take away the mystery of death.”²⁴⁸ An invocation in Elsie W. Mason’s collection includes this request, “Let the peace of the cross heal the sick....”²⁴⁹

The clearest statement made by Mason which locates healing in his soteriology is found in the conclusion of the sermon. He writes,

The gospel takes away corruption and gives you the beauty of Christ; it regenerates and makes a new man. Old things pass away and behold all things become new....He is never empty. He saves from sorrows, saves from sickness; saves us from hating one another; saves from spiritual ignorance. He makes us holy temples.²⁵⁰

Mason clearly sees sickness as atoned for by Christ, for one is “saved” by means of it.

The report of the 1911 Annual Convention held in Lexington, Mississippi which is found in *The Whole Truth*, states that on August 15 people came to the altar, responding to invitations, “crying for Jesus’ blood, and as many as could take him by faith were made whole.”²⁵¹ It is not clear here whether those who came forward were converted, healed, or sanctified. It is probable that “made whole” is a biblical phrase used here to encompass all needs which were met through the experience.

In Lee’s history of Mason, she includes a section called “Early Observations of Senior Bishop C. H. Mason, Founder of the Church of God in Christ” by Elder C. G. Brown. His observations include a catalogue of songs or “psalms” given by the Spirit to Mason. One of these contains these words,

Tell men how to come out of shame.
Tell men how to be watchful.
Tell men how to be strong;
Tell men how to be brotherly,
Tell men how to be healed.
Tell me, Jesus’ wonder is able to keep.
Put in me more love for men.
Tell them the blood of Jesus will keep them.

²⁴⁷ Mason, p. 32.

²⁴⁸ Mason, p. 33.

²⁴⁹ Mason, p. 28.

²⁵⁰ Mason, pp. 34-35.

²⁵¹ E. B. Williams, “Report of the Annual Convocation Held At Lexington, Miss., July 23-August 20, 1911,” *TWT*, IV.4 (October 1911), p. 3.

The Lord delivers men.²⁵²

Mason's understanding of the work of Christ's shedding his blood is holistic, dealing with broken relationships as well as sickness. Further, this remedy is able to "keep" one in this deliverance.

D. The Holy Spirit and Healing

When one examines the account of the Annual Convocation held in 1911, one is first of all struck with the multiple references to the Holy Spirit. Day by day descriptions of the services are given in *The Whole Truth*, and in most the Spirit's role in calling, teaching or praying in the congregation is noted. Descriptions include the phrases "supplication in the Spirit"; "the Spirit of the Lord calls"; "the Holy Ghost uses" Elder Mason; "the Spirit sang out through the saints"; or "the Spirit of the Lord seemed to work a strange work."²⁵³

On August 4, as a result of Mason's singing in the Spirit, "the Spirit came mightily on us all, and the Lord did save many. Souls were healed and devils cast out." It was the work of the Spirit, then, which both convicted and empowered the congregation for the ministries of healing and exorcism.²⁵⁴

In Mason's testimony of his spiritual experiences after Azusa he attributes the "hundreds" healed through his laying on of hands as the work of the Spirit.²⁵⁵ He exhorted ministers that with God's ordination comes power.²⁵⁶ He goes on to say that it was to the empowered disciples in the book of Acts that the "sick and the afflicted" came to be healed.²⁵⁷ So, for Mason, Spirit-empowerment, which comes from Baptism in the Spirit, enables one to minister in the area of healing.

E. Signs Following Believers

Mason's testimony in *The Apostolic Faith* began with a quotation of Mark 16.17, 18. Mason explains that prior to his Pentecostal experience at Azusa, he had taken the command to lay hands on the sick literally, but had not done so with the reference to speaking in tongues. He saw this as his

²⁵² E. Lee, p. 87.

²⁵³ Williams in *TWT*, IV.4 (October 1911), p. 1.

²⁵⁴ *TWT*, IV.4 (October 1911), p. 1.

²⁵⁵ E. Lee, p. 16.

²⁵⁶ Mason, p. 25.

²⁵⁷ Mason, p. 25.

failure to consent to the Word. As a result, he began to seek a Pentecostal experience and found that experience, singing in tongues and preaching in tongues at the Azusa Street Mission.²⁵⁸

The commission of *The Whole Truth* was stated as being the commission given to the disciples in Mark 16.15-18. These verses were reprinted in the publishing information found on page two of the October 1911 edition. Following, this quotation is a quotation, without scriptural citation: “And they went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them and confirming the words with signs following.” It was this confirmed *truth* which Elder Mason, Editor Bowe and others would publish.

On 28 November 1925, Mason preached, “He is showing Himself in signs to believers.”²⁵⁹ Mason understood the signs which follow believers, those listed in Mark 16,²⁶⁰ to be “witnesses of His glory and return.”²⁶¹ The signs, were manifestations of who Jesus is.

Most often the term “signs following” was used to refer to initial speaking in tongues by those baptized in the Holy Ghost.²⁶² The signs of Mark 16, specifically speaking in tongues and casting out demons are also linked to the coming of power upon Jesus and then his disciples which was prophesied in Isaiah 61.1.²⁶³ On the final day of the 1911 Convocation it was reported that the meeting had brought glory to God because “The sick have been healed, the poor have had the gospel preached to them.” Williams also reports that 23 had been “baptized with the Holy Ghost and fire, with signs following....” These signs, glossolalia, healing and the preaching of the gospel to the poor, were held together as marks of God’s manifestation in their midst.

F. The Place of Faith in Healing

Though the “Affirmation of Faith” refers to healing as being related to “the prayer of faith” little else is said directly regarding faith and healing. There are some general teachings about faith and exhortations to having faith or being faithful.

²⁵⁸ *AF*, 1.6 (Feb.-March 1907), p. 7.

²⁵⁹ Mason, p. 32.

²⁶⁰ Patterson, p. 37.

²⁶¹ C. H. Mason, “Friday, December 5, 1919 -- His Invocation in the Holy Convocation” in Lee, p. 62.

²⁶² See Williams, *TWT*, IV.4 (October 1911), p. 3. See also Mason’s sermon “What Christ Says About Them that Believe” in Patterson, pp. 37-39.

²⁶³ *TWT*, IV.4 (October 1911), p. 4.

In his invocation prayed at the Holy Convocation of December 5, 1919, Mason exhorted the congregation to “Look to God, be faithful to God, and say no more, I can’t.”²⁶⁴ Though this understanding of faith and faithfulness may have been applied to healing, the petition is in the context of his prayer for their holiness.

An undated sermon on faith by Elder S. H. Jones calls faith “the only hand that can take things from God.” To be unbelieving means you have nothing with which to receive God’s good gifts. He cites multiple references from the gospels referring to faith and belief (Mark 9.23; 11.24; Matt. 9.20; 8.13; John 11.40; Luke 1.45) . He explains that the healing of the blind was “according to their faith” and that the raising of the dead girl was the result of belief and not fear, which is unbelief.²⁶⁵

Faith comes as a result of hearing the word and the more one hears the word, the more faith will increase. In addition, prayer must be accompanied by faith. This should be followed by praise and thanksgiving.²⁶⁶

In addition to fear hindering the work of faith, sin will also prevent one from having faith. Jones cites John 5.14, Psalm 66.18 and Isaiah 59.2 in this regard.²⁶⁷

Mason encourages readers of *The Whole Truth* that “The blessings of the Lord come to us as we exercise faith in him, for we are justified by faith.” He continues by exhorting that keeping “the faith of Jesus” is the way to overcome the world, because it is Jesus who overcomes for the believers. He prays that “the faith of God be established in the heart, soul and mind” so that the readers may receive from God whatever they ask of him.²⁶⁸

A direct reference to faith and healing is found in Otha Kelly’s autobiography, *Profile of a Churchman*. Kelly states that his healing of appendicitis “was a mighty lesson in ‘faith’....” As he waited for the “evidence” of his healing, he had “prayed ‘in faith and God answered with the substance” as was described in Hebrews 11.1.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁴ E. Lee, p. 61.

²⁶⁵ S. H. Jones, “Faith” in Patterson, pp. 44-45.

²⁶⁶ Jones, p. 45.

²⁶⁷ Jones, p. 46.

²⁶⁸ Mason in *TWT*, IV.4 (October 1911), p. 3.

²⁶⁹ Otha M. Kelly, *Profile of A Churchman* (Jamaica, NY: K&C Publishers, Inc., 1976), p. 53.

G. Means of Healing

As it has been alluded to above, laying hands on the sick was utilized by Mason in his healing ministry. The "Affirmation of Faith" explicitly states that divine healing is "in answer to the prayer of faith and laying on of hands according to the Scriptures."²⁷⁰ Mark 16.18, James 5.4, and Luke 9.1 are cited as prescriptive. L. V. Smith also reports laying hands on the sick while he was preaching on the streets.²⁷¹

The prayer of faith was apparently sometimes accompanied by fasting. The report of the 1911 Convocation states that on the sixth day of the meeting, 28 July, "The Lord gave us today to fast and pray for the healing of the sick."²⁷²

Virginia Barbour testified that God healed her on August 12 when "according to the fifth chapter of James I called for the elders of the church. Brother Mason and other brethren came and prayed and anointed me with oil, and God so wonderfully healed me."²⁷³ James 5 is also cited in the "Affirmation of Faith."

Mason reported in *The Whole Truth* that a woman who walked with a crutch had hands laid on her and "Satan was rebuked at once."²⁷⁴ This resulted in the woman laying down the crutch and walking on her own.

The Whole Truth also includes the testimony of a woman who had written to Mason and asked him to anoint a cloth and send it for her son. Mason sent the cloth and the son was healed of appendicitis.²⁷⁵

In his polemic against the "No Dying" doctrine, Mason makes reference to not utilizing medicine for healing.²⁷⁶ However, the testimony of the healing of Kelly indicates that he used medicines and called on a physician. However, neither the physician nor medicines were able to cure his severe case of appendicitis. It was the eventual prayer of the saints which produced the needed healing.²⁷⁷ Again, the evidence is inconclusive.

²⁷⁰ "Affirmation of Faith."

²⁷¹ *TWT*, IV.4 (October 1911), p. 3.

²⁷² Williams in *TWT*, IV.4 (October 1911), p. 1.

²⁷³ *TWT*, IV.4 (October 1911), p. 3.

²⁷⁴ *TWT*, IV.4 (October 1911), p. 2.

²⁷⁵ *TWT*, IV.4 (October 1911), p. 4.

²⁷⁶ Patterson, p. 43.

²⁷⁷ Kelly, pp. 51-53.

V. Healing in the Pentecostal Holiness Church as Documented in *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* 1917-1923

A. History of the Pentecostal Holiness Church

In 1945-46, Joseph Hillery King, then Senior General Superintendent of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, began his "History of the Pentecostal Holiness Church" with the following:

The Pentecostal Holiness Church, as it is now constituted is the result of the consolidation of the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church, the Pentecostal Holiness Church, and the Tabernacle Presbyterian Church. The first two of the above organizations were united in January, 1911, at Falcon, N. C. and the third was consolidated with the Georgian Annual Conference in 1915 at Canon, Georgia.²⁷⁸

King then states that the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church had its origins earlier than the other two and so, gives its history first.

He carefully, and rightfully, sets its origins in the Wesleyan revival of the eighteenth century, first describing the work of the Wesleys and Whitefield. Synan begins his official history of the denomination with a chapter titled "The Old-Time Power in History," which focuses on the work of the Wesleys.²⁷⁹ Both men proceed to detail the history of the American Holiness Revival.

The Fire-Baptized Holiness movement, which later became a denomination is understood to be the result of the influence of John Fletcher's writings, including *Checks to Antinomianism*. Synan, quotes Fletcher, in particular, as describing a "baptism of burning love." It was this experience, which Fletcher and others after him believed could go beyond sanctification and which the Baptist turned Holiness preacher Benjamin Hardin Irwin sought and preached.²⁸⁰ Irwin claimed to find the experience.²⁸¹ King describes his meetings as characterized by "marvelous demonstrations" and says that "multitudes of holiness people sought this baptism of fire."²⁸² But, his reflection does much to discount the "insane religious manifestations"²⁸³ which took

²⁷⁸ Joseph Hillery King, "History of the Pentecostal Holiness Church" (Unpublished. 1945-46, Foreward, n.p.).

²⁷⁹ Synan, *Old Time Power--A Centennial History of the International Pentecostal Holiness Church*, pp. 1-12.

²⁸⁰ Synan, *Old-Time Power*, p. 46.

²⁸¹ King, p. 6. See also Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, pp. 51-53.

²⁸² King, pp. 6-7.

²⁸³ King, p. 15.

place in the Fire Baptized Holiness meetings as well as what, in his more mature years, he considered to be doctrinal errors.²⁸⁴ According to David Alexander, King, in retrospect did not discount the *experience* which he had known and had earlier identified as a baptism of fire. He reinterpreted it and saw that experience as his definitive sanctification experience.²⁸⁵ Synan admits that most of the Holiness movement rejected Irwin's message of a "third experience" though the movement did grow in the rural Midwest and South.²⁸⁶ In 1895, Irwin and his followers organized "The Fire-Baptized Holiness Association" in Iowa. Following this organization, other state associations were formed in Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Georgia, North Carolina and South Carolina. A general organization was formed in 1898. By this time, King, a young Methodist minister, had joined the Georgia organization. In 1899, the organization began publication of its official periodical, *Live Coals of Fire*.

At this time, King was appointed Ruling Elder and later Acting Editor of *Live Coals of Fire*. It was also at this time that Irwin fell into immorality, or as he confessed, " 'open and gross sin'" and at the General Council of 1900, King was unanimously elected General Overseer of the Fire Baptized Holiness Association of the United States and Canada.²⁸⁷

During the 1890's, a Methodist minister named A. B. Crumpler, who had been sanctified under the ministry of holiness preacher Beverly Carradine, began preaching sanctification in his native North Carolina. In 1897 he organized the North Carolina Holiness Association.²⁸⁸ Synan characterizes Crumpler's holiness preaching as controversial in that he claimed to have never sinned after his experience of sanctification. In addition, his meetings were known for manifestations such as trances and "jerks."²⁸⁹ Crumpler began publication of *The Holiness Advocate* in 1900 and formed a new denomination called " 'The Pentecostal Holiness Church'" in that same year.²⁹⁰ Synan states that his was "the first congregation to bear the

²⁸⁴ King, pp. 15-19.

²⁸⁵ David A. Alexander, "Bishop J. H. King and the Emergence of Holiness Pentecostalism", *Pneuma* 8 (Fall 1986), p. 162.

²⁸⁶ Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, p. 53.

²⁸⁷ Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, p. 59.

²⁸⁸ Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, p. 62.

²⁸⁹ Synan, *The Old Time Power*, p. 71.

²⁹⁰ Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, p. 63.

name “Pentecostal Holiness.”²⁹¹ The name was changed again in 1901, this time dropping the descriptive term “Pentecostal” and retaining “Holiness.” In 1909, after the membership had been swept into the new Pentecostal movement, by way of Azusa Street, the name was restored to “The Pentecostal Holiness Church.”²⁹²

The previously described Pentecostal experience of G. B. Cashwell at Azusa Street is pivotal in the development of the Pentecostal Holiness Church. After the experience, Cashwell returned to North Carolina and held a meeting at a tobacco warehouse in Dunn, North Carolina. The meeting was attended by hundreds and as Synan says, “pentecost had come to the East.”²⁹³ The revival continued for a month. Many who would later be prominent leaders in the Pentecostal Holiness Church were baptized in the Spirit at that revival.²⁹⁴ Crumpler, however, did not support the meeting.

At this point King, then General Overseer of the Fire Baptized Holiness Church, had been hearing reports of the revivals at Azusa and in Dunn. Some members of his own denomination in Toccoa, Georgia received the experience. King, having been closely associated with Irwin, who had taught that there were subsequent experiences to sanctification, had a desire for this further experience in God. However, he was unsure about the scriptural grounds for identifying tongues as the initial evidence of the infilling. His own account reports that he was not opposed to glossolalia but only to the insistence that it was initial evidence. King felt led by the Spirit to begin a fast. After further prayer and consulting Dean Alford’s *Critical Notes on the Greek New Testament*, King became convinced that at the Samaritan revival they had indeed spoken in tongues.²⁹⁵ This text had been his “stronghold” against the argument. He writes, “I was defeated, and that against my will.” Having been convinced by Scripture, King attended the revival meeting being held in

²⁹¹ Synan, *The Old Time Power*, p. 76. Synan explains that the idea for the name of the congregation may have come from publications out of “God’s Revivalist Office” in Cincinnati, Ohio, “most of which used the word ‘Pentecostal’ in the title.”

²⁹² Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, p. 64.

²⁹³ Synan, *The Old Time Power*, p. 99.

²⁹⁴ Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, pp. 114-115 and Synan, *The Old Time Power*, p. 100.

²⁹⁵ J. H. King, “My Experience”, *PHA*, 30.4 (23 May 1946), pp. 6ff. Reprinted from J. H. King, *From Passover to Pentecost* (Memphis, TN: H. W. Dixon Printing Co., 1914). King explains that Alford notes in the phrase “And Simon saw” that the verb “saw,” or *ιδων*, conveys the idea of physical sight and that this was a parallel to the Ephesian pentecost. Alford concludes that the Samaritans did speak in tongues. Others, including Wesley, “further strengthened the conclusion” (p. 13).

Toccoa the next night and was baptized in the Holy Spirit and began to speak in tongues.²⁹⁶

Though Crumpler began to fight the new doctrine which was becoming widespread in his own church, the Pentecostals eventually won the day. Crumpler and his minority left the church in a dramatic defection in 1908 and the church became thoroughly pentecostal. In 1911, the Pentecostal Holiness Church and the Fire Baptized Holiness Church consolidated with about “2,000 members in six state conventions.”²⁹⁷ S. D. Page was elected as general superintendent.²⁹⁸

N. J. Holmes, a University of Edinburgh educated lawyer turned Presbyterian minister, had received a “definite experience of sanctification in April 1896, through the influence of D. L. Moody.”²⁹⁹ In 1898 he and the Brewerton Presbyterian Church of Laurens County, South Carolina withdrew from the Presbytery and became an independent Presbyterian church.³⁰⁰ In the autumn of that year, Holmes opened a Bible School near Greenville, South Carolina, known as Altamont Bible and Missionary Training Institute.

A 1945 letter to King, from Paul F. Beacham, then General Treasurer of the denomination, reveals that

In the year 1909 Brother Holmes erected a church building in Greenville, South Carolina, in the shape of a cross, and called it the Tabernacle. About a year later the congregation at the Tabernacle in Greenville desired to be organized into a church, and a commission from the Brewerton Church was appointed for this work. On July 10, 1910, the Tabernacle Presbyterian Church was organized.³⁰¹

Beacham says that many were being baptized in the Spirit and felt a need for a church “where the doctrines they believed could be freely preached and others brought into the experience....”³⁰² The name was changed to Tabernacle Pentecostal Church. Several other churches and ministers who had experienced the pentecostal outpouring joined the small organization. In 1915, the churches merged with the Pentecostal Holiness Church. However,

²⁹⁶ King, “My Experience,” p. 16.

²⁹⁷ Synan, *The Old Time Power*, p. 124.

²⁹⁸ Synan, *The Old Time Power*, p. 123.

²⁹⁹ Synan, *The Old Time Power*, p. 126.

³⁰⁰ G. F. Taylor, “Nickels John Holmes” *PHA*, 3.39 (22 January 1920), p. 3.

³⁰¹ Unpublished letter from Paul F. Beacham, Greenville, South Carolina to Rev. J. H. King in Franklin Springs, Georgia dated 1 December 1945. The letter was apparently written to supplement the history of the denomination which King had undertaken to write.

³⁰² Beacham.

Holmes' own congregation in Greenville did not join. Holmes apparently felt that his Bible school, should remain as an inter-denominational institution. However, Holmes kept close ties with the denomination.³⁰³

The merger with the Tabernacle Presbyterian churches and the influence of the Altamont Bible and Missionary Institute did much to advance the Pentecostal Holiness Church in the area of world missions. In addition, the school, the name of which was later changed to Holmes Bible and Missionary Institute, for decades held great influence through the training of ministers.³⁰⁴

The denomination fit solidly within the framework of the five-fold gospel, doctrinally emphasizing justification by faith, sanctification as a second definite work of grace, divine healing in the atonement, baptism in the Holy Spirit and the pre-millennial second coming of Christ.

In 1917, the General Convention called for the launching of an official church publication, *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate*. G. F. Taylor was appointed as editor. It was also at this convention that the Annual Bible Conferences were initiated and J. H. King was elected as General Superintendent.

The year 1920 saw a major rift in the heavily centralized denomination. The church had held strongly to the doctrine of divine healing as provided in the atonement. But one may sense in the writings predating the division a growing concern about the doctrine's acceptance. In a letter from J. H. King in the September 25, 1919 *Advocate*, he states that at the Franklin Springs Camp Meeting preaching on divine healing had been emphasized, "not because the church has been accused of departing from this truth; but because we felt that the Holy Spirit specially led us on this line. The Pentecostal Holiness Church is as loyal to this truth as ever..."³⁰⁵ The next month, a letter from J. C. Smith suggests that some were beginning to fight divine healing "when our discipline says that we must stand for it if it costs us our lives."³⁰⁶ In the November 13, 1919 issue Taylor called for articles to be submitted to *The Advocate* with regard to divine healing.³⁰⁷ Articles, letters and sermons began appearing regularly. King in his letter in the January 15, 1920

³⁰³ Synan, *The Old Time Power*, p. 128.

³⁰⁴ Synan, *The Old Time Power*, p. 128.

³⁰⁵ PHA, 3.22 (25 September 1919), p. 3.

³⁰⁶ PHA, 3.25,26 (16, 23 October 1919), p. 11.

³⁰⁷ PHA, 3.29 (13 November 1919), p. 1.

issue contends that those within their ranks who still held to the doctrine were in the majority and that “ninety-nine percent of Scripture is on the side of healing, by faith in Christ, and the remaining one percent is not against this truth, position, or practice.” He goes on to argue that scripture does not prescribe remedies. He contends that he does not “speak by way of censure” but “by loyalty to the atonement and to prove faith in its provisions.”³⁰⁸

The next month, Taylor conceded that there had been letters from both sides of the issue, admitted that neither the Church nor *The Advocate* took the stand that using remedies is a sin, but maintained that “the framers of the Basis of Union [a document detailing the doctrinal commitments in which the Pentecostal Holiness Church and the Fire Baptized Holiness Church were in unity] and with the movement out of which the church grew, that the atonement provides healing for all diseases.”³⁰⁹ Taylor clarified the church’s position further in an editorial titled “Where Does the Church Stand?” in April of 1920.³¹⁰

There followed reprints of articles on healing by A. B. Simpson,³¹¹ and Boardman³¹² as well as sermons and articles warning against “drawing back”³¹³ and the “dangers ahead.”³¹⁴

Two Georgia ministers, G. Watson Sorrow and Hugh Bowling, boldly maintained that there was no harm in taking medicine or in using the services of a physician. These could not imply a lack of faith. Their letters were reluctantly printed by Taylor in April 1920. Taylor explained that charges were pending against the two men. He wrote:

Let it be understood that these contributions do not have my endorsement. Let it also be understood that the columns of The Advocate are NOT open for farther [sic] contributions along this line. Let it be farther [sic] understood that The Advocate will stand for divine healing as in the atonement without remedies. People who believe in trusting God alone for their bodies may be free to write The Advocate on this subject; but we will NOT make a practice of publishing that which recommends medicine, let the consequences be what they may. If The Pentecostal Holiness Church stands with the contributions found below, I am not fit to be the editor of its Official

³⁰⁸ PHA, 3.38 (15 January 1920), p. 13.

³⁰⁹ PHA, 3.42 (19 February 1920), p. 1.

³¹⁰ PHA, 3.51 (15 April 1920), pp. 8-9.

³¹¹ PHA, 3.46 (18 March 1920), pp. 4-5.

³¹² PHA, 4.9 (1 July 1920), pp. 13-15.

³¹³ A. L. Sisler, “Drawing Back”, PHA, 4.36 (6 January 1921).

³¹⁴ Mrs. Lula M. Dudley, “Dangers Ahead”, PHA, 3.52 (22 April 1920), p. 4.

Organ.³¹⁵

Bowling clearly defended the doctrine of healing in the atonement but stated that his position was that healing is not parallel with salvation.

The controversy finally reached its climax in the expulsion of the two Georgia ministers in August 1920. Bowling and Sorrow had failed to appear for the trial and this was the basis of expulsion.³¹⁶ In November, after time for appeal, the final decision was made. The two left the organization, taking six ministers and fourteen churches with them. They took steps to organize the dissenters into a new denomination which would be based on a congregational form of government, the Congregational Holiness Church.³¹⁷

In a January 27, 1921 article titled "A Review," King reflects on the schism and states that the seeds of the division had been sown earlier, in 1917 when similar strife had developed over the doctrinal statement "justification by faith alone." Apparently, in the Georgia Conference a faction had existed, which wanted to argue that faith alone was not sufficient for justification. He logically continues, "If works are necessary to salvation, then works are necessary to healing. If we cannot be saved by faith, then we cannot be healed by faith."³¹⁸

King, in December 1920, expressed his grief over the "bitter controversy." He wrote, "I am so easily hurt over little things and my soul is torn, as it were, to pieces over great things that should not be in the church."³¹⁹ Perhaps his grief was the beginning of what would be an apparent change in thought for him. In his 1945-46 history, in reflecting on the doctrinal error of the Fire Baptized Holiness zealots, he writes:

This gracious work of God was loaded with extravagances. Those that accepted healing as in the Atonement, and trusted in Christ as the healer of all sicknesses and diseases, were taught that they renounce and condemn all means and methods of healing in the natural. Physicians were denounced as imposters [sic] and their remedies as poisons. All simple home remedies such as mothers used and found beneficial were looked upon as an evidence of unbelief. Their use deprived Christ of receiving the glory due unto him....But we find in the New Testament that the only thing Christ

³¹⁵ PHA, 3.53 (29 April 1920), p. 3.

³¹⁶ PHA, 4.17 (2 September 1920), p. 4.

³¹⁷ Synan, *The Old Time Power*, p. 166.

³¹⁸ PHA, 4.39 (27 January 1921), p. 16.

³¹⁹ PHA, 4.35 (30 December 1920), p. 3.

demanded of those who came seeking healing was faith. And where he found faith in anyone He granted healing to their leaders, and also forgiveness of sins. No apostle ever demanded more. And we have no right to require more.³²⁰

King's widow, in paying tribute to him in the memorial edition of *The Advocate*, writes that he "consented to go to the hospital only after months of suffering. In fact, for years there had been periods of suffering, but he kept praying and requesting prayer of others for his healing." He finally consented to an operation. However, on his last day, after hands were laid on him, he testified that the pain disappeared. He died later that evening in his bed. His wife wrote, "My precious husband had been given the 'abundant entrance' for which he had prayed so many times."³²¹

King died in the faith, having faithfully served the church for more than forty years. He had contended for the faith, had formulated much of the church's theology and had an enormous influence on all of Holiness-Pentecostal theology. But, perhaps the greatest doctrinal battle he ever fought would have been fought differently if the controversy had occurred in the later years of his life. His consent to use medicine along with prayer for healing in his final days probably modeled his spirituality and theology in ways in which his words did not.

B. *Origins of Illness*

As in other Pentecostal bodies of the time, the ultimate source of illness was Satan and sin, the Fall. No disease was found in original creation. A sermon printed in 1917 stated that sickness had "entered through sin" and "...disease is a part of the curse for sin--the fruit of disobedience and compromise with the world." Dan. W. Evans, an official of the Oklahoma Conference drew this conclusion from examining Genesis 2.17 and the seventeenth and eighteenth chapters of Deuteronomy.³²² Editor G. F. Taylor held the same conclusion. Because of Adam's fall, there was sin and suffering in the world. Our bodies are now in a fallen condition and are subject to the germs often found in air and water.³²³ Taylor, having been born

³²⁰ King, *History*, p. 17.

³²¹ Blanche L. King, "His Last Days With Us", *PHA*, 30.4 (23 May 1946), pp. 10, 15.

³²² *PHA*, 1.18 (30 August 1917), p. 3.

³²³ *PHA*, 1.8 (21 June 1917), p. 15. See also 5.10 (7 July 1921), p. 9.

with cerebral palsy, expressed at one point that he had searched to find the reason for his own illness, but to no avail.³²⁴ An obituary of a fifteen year old boy who died as a result of epilepsy reflects this same kind of question and resolves it this way:

I have often wondered why God let him live here over fifteen years in suffering, but then I remember some are cut off in infancy. Some live to young manhood and womanhood and then are cut down, while others live to a ripe old age, and then we are made to say in our hearts, that God never makes a mistake.³²⁵

There were no easy answers but there was the assurance of God's lovingkindness in his sovereignty. A similar obituary relating the death of a young boy indicates that the boy's death had been allowed by God to bring the child's father back to God.³²⁶

Taylor contended that the Devil has the power to "afflict people and make them sick" only as it is allowed by God.³²⁷ Affliction by Satan may come by God's permission when one has sinned. If Israel disobeyed, then they were subject to curses. Through God's permission, "Satan brings curses upon men."³²⁸ In writing about John 5.14, Taylor concluded that the man suffered lameness because of his own sin and further sin would bring something worse upon him. Taylor did elaborate that the "worse thing" might be " 'death and hell.' " Apparently countering a stream of current thought, he quickly added, "It does not necessarily mean that he would be sick again in the same manner, or in a worse manner; neither does it mean that the same disease will not come back to us after God has healed us, unless we disobey God."³²⁹ James Richardson's prayer request three years later indicates that though he had been healed of a speech impediment, after he "did wrong" his speech "got worse again." He attributes this to "an affliction of the devil."³³⁰

The Pentecostal Holiness Church did not teach that sickness was necessarily an indication of the sinfulness of a person, however. The devout saint is subject to sickness and death.³³¹ T. A. Melton expressed his opposition

³²⁴ PHA, 1.27 (1 November 1917), p. 8.

³²⁵ PHA, 3.42 (12 February 1920), p. 12.

³²⁶ PHA, 3.22 (25 September 1919), p. 14.

³²⁷ PHA, 5.10 (7 July 1921), p. 9.

³²⁸ PHA, 5.10 (7 July 1921), p. 9.

³²⁹ PHA, 1.8 (21 June 1917), p. 15.

³³⁰ PHA, 3.43 (19 February 1920), pp. 10-11.

³³¹ PHA, 1.42 (14 February 1918), p. 4.

to any teaching that held that the sanctified person would never be sick.³³²

Satan could also act to hinder or attempt to stop the work of God. Mrs. S. A. Fann's testimony in March 1920 describes her headaches as a way in which "the enemy [is] trying to hinder me in reading God's Word and other good books, and I know there is deliverance through Jesus."³³³ Bishop J. H. King felt that Satan, "the great enemy of the truth," made people sick, preventing them from attending Bible conferences.³³⁴

In the aftermath of the 1920 division, an article reprinted from another source, boldly proclaimed that "God never puts sickness on any one. All good things come from God, and all evil things from the devil. God does not want any one to be sick, or to suffer pain, or weakness."³³⁵ However, earlier letters indicate that the general belief was that God did permit or cause affliction. In one testimony God is described as laying his hand on a backslidden woman, making her sick.³³⁶ Tony Brittle's testimony offers his praise to God for his affliction which God had "mercifully allowed...to bring him down." It provoked him to turn to God.³³⁷

C. Divine Healing Provided in the Atonement

Clearly for the Pentecostal Holiness Church, the remedy for sickness, a result of sin in the world, was found in the event where the curse was broken: the atoning work of Jesus Christ. Even before the division of 1920, the church held fast to the doctrine inherited from the nineteenth century. Indeed, belief in this doctrine was seen to be part and parcel of the Holiness tradition. In 1918, a sermon titled "Loyalty to Holiness" by Dan. W. Evans lists divine healing as one of the landmarks or signs which "keep the pilgrims in 'the way of holiness.'" He warned that the Devil was trying to "utterly uproot and do away with divine healing." He particularly decried those who claim to believe it, yet turn to doctors for help.³³⁸ A series titled "Basis of Union" included an installment specifically dealing with the doctrine of divine healing. Taylor explained:

³³² PHA, 6.50 (12 April 1923), p. 9.

³³³ PHA, 3.45 (4 March 1920), p. 29.

³³⁴ PHA, 2.10 (4 July 1918), p. 2. See also 2.52 (24 April 1919), p. 10.

³³⁵ PHA, 5.6 (9 June 1921), p. 2. Source of reprint unknown.

³³⁶ PHA, 4.16 (26 August 1920), p. 3.

³³⁷ PHA, 1.24 (11 October 1917), p. 13.

³³⁸ PHA, 1.18 (30 August 1917), pp. 2-3.

When Jesus died on the cross, He made provision for the healing of our bodies. It is through the merits of the atonement that our sins may be forgiven, and our hearts purified. It is through the same merits that we receive grace for our souls from day to day. In like manner, the atonement merits the healing of our bodies. Jesus suffered vicariously for our healing. He suffered that we might not have to suffer. There is power in the atonement to heal the body and it is ours through appropriating faith. He did not suffer to heal us through secondary means. We do not think that he heals us through the use of drugs. We believe that many people are cured by drugs but we do not call this divine healing. We do not believe in divine healing as in drugs, or even in nature, though there is healing in nature; but we believe in it as in the atonement, and that is appropriated by faith alone.³³⁹

He goes on to expound on Isaiah 53.4, 5 and Matthew 8.16, 17. Pastor J. T. Baker's sermon on Matthew 8.17, titled "Divine Healing," explores how incidents of healing while Jesus was on earth fulfilled the words of the prophet Isaiah.³⁴⁰ For Taylor the healing work of Christ while on earth is integrated with his work on the cross. There, he took our diseases upon himself or was "made sick for us."³⁴¹ Mrs. Annie Harrison, in testifying of her own healing, recounts "...I saw that for this purpose the Son of God was manifested that He might destroy the works of the devil (1 John 3:8). And sickness and disease came from the fall of man. If we can trust Him for the soul, why not for the body."³⁴² Gustav Sigwalt and J. O. Lehman declared Christ to be the "perfect Savior," healer of both body and soul.³⁴³

Expositors also found warrant for the doctrine in the story of the children of Israel in the wilderness in which they had been bitten by deadly serpents. Those who looked upon the brass serpent, which was lifted up, lived. This event was interpreted in John 3.14,15: "Now we see clearly that the Serpent was a type of Jesus; and if a look at the type healed the sick and dying, how much more will Jesus Himself heal our diseases."³⁴⁴

In an exposition titled "Resurrection and Glorification," Taylor argues for an atonement which provides for both body and soul. However, the benefits are not necessarily received by the same act of faith. In other words, salvation

³³⁹ PHA, 1.42 (14 February 1918), p. 4.

³⁴⁰ PHA, 1.31 (6 December 1917), pp. 2- 3.

³⁴¹ PHA, 3.30 (20 November 1919), p. 8.

³⁴² PHA, 4.3 (20 May 1920), p. 13.

³⁴³ PHA, 3.45 (4 March 1920), p. 3.

³⁴⁴ PHA, 2.59 (3 April 1919), p. 5.

from sin does not guarantee health. Separate acts of faith are required, though “grace in the soul will stimulate faith for the body.” Therefore, a sinner may be healed through the atonement though not saved and vice versa. He goes on to explain that not all the benefits of the atonement are to be received in this life. Certain benefits are to be received in the life to come. “It is a great mistake to think that all the benefits of the atonement are received after we leave this world, and just as great a mistake to think that they are all received before we leave this world.”³⁴⁵ The Wesleyan understanding of a crisis-process salvation is evident here. Salvation is a process which ends in the glorification and salvation from the presence of sin.

D. Signs Following Believers

The question of the reliability of the Mark 16.9-20 text was dealt with squarely by Editor G. F. Taylor. Taylor begins a two-part series on the text by admitting that the text is not found in the Sinaiticus and Vaticanus texts but interjects that they are reliable by virtue of the fact that they were quoted by Irenaeus and Hippolytus.³⁴⁶

Taylor understood the signs as “the results of the workings of faith in the gospel.” They accompany the work of the church collectively, not the individual and they should accompany the church in the “entire gospel age.” He further warns that “the value does not lie in the sign, but in that which the sign represents.” And for Taylor they represent “faith that has worked.”³⁴⁷ For C. F. Noble, “a sign is a thing by which anything is made known--a mark, a token, a proof; hence, a remarkable event, mighty signs and wonders by the power of the Holy Spirit of God (Rom. 15:19).”³⁴⁸ H. C. Webb saw the purpose of the signs being the strengthening of the gospel, not in its power to save the soul from sin, but in its power to convince those who heard it.³⁴⁹

Though there is no direct reference to these signs being signs of the Kingdom dawning already, as in the writings of Hattie M. Barth, W. B. Shaffer does link the signs of Mark 16 to those which Jesus lists as characteristic of

³⁴⁵ PHA, 2.20 (12 September 1918), pp. 2-3. See also 3.46 (18 March 1920), p. 9.

³⁴⁶ PHA, 2.17 (22 August 1918), p. 8. In 2.8 (20 June 1918), p. 10 Taylor cites a tract by Ivan Panin titled “The Inspiration of the Scriptures” (William Harland, 4 West Villas, Stockton-on-Tees, England, n.d.) as establishing the reliability of the text.

³⁴⁷ PHA, 2.18 (29 August 1918), pp. 8-9.

³⁴⁸ PHA, 1.24 (11 October 1917), p. 12.

³⁴⁹ PHA, 3.33 (11 December 1919), p. 5.

his own ministry and Kingdom in Luke 4 and 7: "...that the signs will follow...that the blind will see and the lame walk, and that the power will be around." Noble writes of Mark:

He is telling us of the great miracles of Jesus, and wants the Romans to see miracles wrought by Him and in His name, so we are to look for the same gospel to be preached to us as was preached to them, and for the same signs to follow now that followed then, and when the gospel is preached the signs will follow us that believed as them that believed. [sic]³⁵⁰

The verses of the longer ending of Mark were liberally quoted or alluded to in reference to the command to lay hands on the sick.³⁵¹ In the midst of the 1920 division, members pleaded for a time of prayer to be set aside in which "...the whole church everywhere will pray that God will so convict the church that the signs will follow more than they ever have before...."³⁵² Not to expect the signs to follow was to fail to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints and to "compromise with this world, the flesh, and the devil...."³⁵³ Taylor warned that failure to see these signs means the church has fallen short of the power of Pentecost and it is the fault of the church.³⁵⁴ Here Taylor counters the cessationists' argument. Like A. J. Gordon and others earlier, Taylor implies that the reason miracles or signs are absent is not because God has willed to stop working but because the church has lost faith. Webb, saw unbelief in the church as impairing or "crippling" the gospel's power.³⁵⁵

Some reservation, however, was expressed by Taylor in regard to what one should expect to see with regard to signs. In a Sunday School Lesson on Acts 9.32-43, printed in February 1920, there is a question raised as to the frequency with which one should expect to see the dead raised to life.³⁵⁶ But Taylor allows that one does not have specifically to see the sign (i.e.- healing of a particular disease) in the Biblical text for it to be valid: "We should not expect signs that are out of harmony with the teachings of the Scriptures; but we could not confine our faith to Bible examples alone."³⁵⁷

³⁵⁰ PHA, 1.24 (11 October 1917), p. 12.

³⁵¹ See PHA, 3.45 (4 March 1920), p. 1; 4.16 (19 August 1920), p. 3; 5.7 (15 June 1922) and 6.51 (19 April 1923), p. 4 for examples.

³⁵² PHA, 3.49 (1 April 1920), p. 16 and 3.52 (22 April 1920), p. 10.

³⁵³ PHA, 5.7 (16 June 1922), p. 16.

³⁵⁴ PHA, 2.44-45 (6, 13 March 1919), p. 7.

³⁵⁵ PHA, 3.33 (11 December 1919), p. 6.

³⁵⁶ PHA, 3.40 (29 January 1920), p. 3.

³⁵⁷ PHA, 3.3 (15 May 1919), p. 10.

However, *The Advocate* walked a fine line on the question of Mark 16.9-20. How did one interpret the sign of taking up serpents? The tension between the Pentecostal Holiness Church and The Church of God, as the more prominent Pentecostal denominations in the southeastern United States, is nowhere more pronounced than in the interpretation of the text in Mark. Between 1917 and 1921, no less than twelve articles or letters make reference to the Church of God practice of taking up serpents.³⁵⁸ Ministers W. J. Noble, C. F. Noble, Taylor and others warn the readers of *The Advocate* against the divisive practices of the Church of God.

Taylor contends that taking up serpents is a reference to the accidental handling of a snake, as is found in Acts 28, denying that it is a command.³⁵⁹ Further, he argues that the clause “it shall not hurt them” modifies both the serpents and poison clauses in Mark 16.18.³⁶⁰ Another argument often cited is that taking up serpents as a practice was a way of drawing attention to the sign. The point of the text was to say that signs followed believers, not that believers were to follow after signs.³⁶¹ Finally, Taylor would argue that the serpent may be taken spiritually as a picture of Satan. He cites Genesis 3.15 and Revelation 20 as indications that Jesus would ultimately handle the serpent Satan, casting him into the bottomless pit and lake of fire. He concludes: “The thing for Christian people to do for snakes is to kill them.”³⁶²

E. The Holy Spirit and Healing

For Wesleyan Pentecostals, such as those in the Pentecostal Holiness Church, Spirit Baptism is identified as a third experience which follows upon an experience of heart purity, or entire sanctification. Baptism in the Holy Spirit is identified as that which is “continually abiding and flowing out of you as rivers of living water.” This experience was understood to empower for service, making the believer “like a watered garden” bringing forth fruit in

³⁵⁸ See *PHA*, 1.2 (10 May 1917), pp. 12-13; 1.24 (11 October 1917), pp. 2-3; 2.14 (1 August 1918), pp. 8-9, 12; 2.15 (8 August 1918), pp. 8-10; 2.17 (22 August 1918), pp. 8-10; 2.17 (22 August 1918), p. 6; 2.18 (29 August 1918), pp. 8-11; 3.9 (26 June 1919), pp. 14,15; 3.38 (15 January 1920), p. 16; 4.47 (24 March 1921), pp. 3-4; 5.11 (14 July 1921), p. 2; 5.23 (6 October 1921), pp. 8-9.

³⁵⁹ *PHA*, 2.14 (1 August 1918), pp. 8-10.

³⁶⁰ *PHA*, 1.2 (10 May 1917), p. 13 and 2.14 (1 August 1918), p. 9.

³⁶¹ See J. J. King’s “A Timely Warning,” *PHA* 5.11 (14 July 1921), p. 2.

³⁶² *PHA*, 5.23 (6 October 1921), p. 9.

season.³⁶³ Most often for Wesleyan Pentecostals the experience is linked with service. But what is the role of the Spirit in healing the sick?

Clearly a link was seen in that the Mark 16 text speaks both of speaking in tongues and laying hands on the sick in the context of mission. The Spirit's work was recognized in several areas.

First, J. H. King discussed the Spirit's role in application of the atonement to the entire person. "This can be realized only by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost. He must fill our entire body, soul, and spirit. He will apply the Atonement to our bodies, to our souls and to our spirits in proportion to our apprehension of Christ and union with Him."³⁶⁴ There is an ongoing work of the Spirit in the Pentecostal believer, bringing him/her to full redemption. E. H. Blake in contrasting divine healing and medical healing states that the former "is altogether a supernatural work wrought by the power of the Holy Spirit by faith in Jesus Christ."³⁶⁵ As an example of this contention, Bessie Marlow, requesting prayer for her own affliction, expresses her faith in the Holy Ghost's ability to perform a needed operation, though a medical doctor had recommended surgery.³⁶⁶

Further, the Spirit has a leading, illuminating role with regard to healing. A. M. Graves, in 1919, wrote that the Spirit gave witness to the healing of his baby.³⁶⁷ Mrs. G. L. White attributed her trust in Jesus as physician to the leading of the Holy Spirit. In addition, it was the Holy Spirit who empowered her to be able to trust God fully.³⁶⁸ Helen Reese had been led to make a covenant "to trust the Lord for the healing of her body" at the time she was baptized in the Holy Spirit. Even when she was not healed on earth, but experienced death, the Spirit was a help. Her obituary describes an instance in which she rose from her deathbed "in the strength of the Lord and walked the floor speaking in tongues and pouring forth such a stream of praise to God as is seldom heard..."³⁶⁹ So the Spirit functions first, to guide the believer in his/her approach to healing and second, to equip the believer for the task at hand, whether that be facing the illness or death.

³⁶³ Sermon titled "The Indwelling Spirit" by F. M. Britton, *PHA*, 3.30 (20 November 1919), p. 4.

³⁶⁴ *PHA*, 5.4 (26 May 1921), p. 3.

³⁶⁵ *PHA*, 2.36, 37 (2-9 January 1919), p. 2.

³⁶⁶ *PHA*, 3.25, 26 (16, 23 October 1919), p. 15.

³⁶⁷ *PHA*, 3.27 (30 October 1919), p. 13.

³⁶⁸ *PHA*, 4.16 (19 August 1920), p. 13.

³⁶⁹ *PHA*, 3.46 (18 March 1920), p. 7.

In the case of the one performing the ministry of healing, the Holy Spirit serves as the director, instructing the healer as to means and methods to be utilized. An article titled "Divine Surgery" advises that the Holy Spirit will direct as to whether one should anoint with oil, lay hands on the sick person, pray the prayer of faith or pray in Jesus' name. And the Spirit makes each effective.³⁷⁰

There seems to be some ambiguity among *Advocate* readers and writers with regard to the gift of healing. Evangelist O. C. Wilkins boldly proclaims, "I have seen some in my life that claimed to have the gift of healing, but I soon found out that they had self-exaltation instead of the real gift of healing. I have never seen one person in my life in the Pentecostal movement or out of it that had the gift of healing."³⁷¹ However, he does contend that the church as a whole is falling short of God's intended purpose. Later, Lucy Hodson maintained that God *had* blessed her with the gift.³⁷² Taylor apparently felt that it was a real possibility for one to have the gift after being baptized in the Holy Ghost.³⁷³ Though not stating specifically that Gustav Sigwalt, an evangelist, had the gift of healing, Taylor did maintain that "He has great faith in God, and is especially blessed in helping the sick."³⁷⁴

F. The Role of Faith

Like others in the Wesleyan-Pentecostal tradition, the Pentecostal Holiness church taught that to believe and practice healing, to trust in God was fidelity to God. In his sermon "Loyalty to Holiness," Dan W. Evans included healing as one of the "landmarks" or "guideposts" which "keep the pilgrims in 'the way of holiness.'"³⁷⁵

J. H. King taught *Advocate* readers that faith has its origin in God, that it is begotten by God. But it is conditional upon our "seeing Him only." Having seen Him, Daniel was able to have "great faith." King wrote, "God becomes the measure of what we see as possible of realization." The possibilities are contingent upon the continuance and growth of belief. And God honors this

³⁷⁰ PHA, 3.30 (20 November 1919), p. 7.

³⁷¹ PHA, 1.12 (19 July 1917), p. 16.

³⁷² PHA, 3.47, 48 (25 March 1920), p. 15.

³⁷³ PHA, 4.16 (19 August 1920), p. 9.

³⁷⁴ PHA, 4.34 (23 December 20), p. 1.

³⁷⁵ PHA, 1.18 (30 August 1917), p. 2.

type of faith.³⁷⁶ Faith then, though initiated by God, requires a cooperation between the believer and God. It is the product of participation in God. Elsewhere, a contribution of Elizabeth A. Sexton, former editor of *The Bridegroom's Messenger*, describes faith as being offered freely to the church, and exhorts that it is the church's responsibility to take what is offered. Faith is received by the hearing of the Word, whereby one receives truth. The Word must be heard with an "open heart" and be "accompanied by doing." Like King, she believes that faith grows, or is "enlarged" and she would add that this occurs "on the fertile soil of obedience."³⁷⁷

God is sovereign over all but "adjusts His great fatherly heart," doing that "which he deems expedient, always in the right time and never out of season." Making a comparison with war-time observation balloons, T. H. Rousseau explains that God is "elevated as to space, but is elevated in thought, in holiness, and in eternal graduation of perfect love." From this elevated position, he may make these adjustments, protecting us and stabilizing us. Speaking of Mary's submission to the will of God in Luke 1.37, 38, he describes her as being in unfavorable circumstances but willing to submit to God and thus being "gloriously emancipated from all the power of darkness and fitted into the great divine plan of the ages."³⁷⁸ This is the context in which she makes her great statement of faith, "With God nothing shall be impossible." In the same vein as is found in King's writings, Rousseau contends that a revelation of God precedes faith.³⁷⁹ Missionaries Geraldine and Kenneth Spooner, writing from the African continent in 1917, while suffering from illness, echo this understanding: "However, we see Jesus, and looking upon Him, we are having strength."³⁸⁰

Taylor, explains that healing is "according to your faith." While he argues that "faith is not some great deposit upon which we may draw from time to time, like a million dollars deposited to our credit in the bank, until it is all used...." he does delineate several "phases of faith." These *phases* correlate with various soteriological experiences, i.e.- justification,

³⁷⁶ PHA, 2.11 (11 July 1918), p. 1.

³⁷⁷ See Elizabeth A. Sexton's article "The Faith Once Delivered to the Saints" PHA, 1.46 (14 March 1918), pp. 2, 3. In particular she comments on Ephesians 2.8, where faith is a "gift of God" and translates Acts 17.31 to read "...whereof He hath *offered faith* unto all men, in that He hath raised Him from the dead."

³⁷⁸ PHA, 1.49 (4 April 1918), p. 3.

³⁷⁹ PHA, 1.49 (4 April 1918), p. 2.

³⁸⁰ PHA, 1.26 (25 October 1917), p. 11.

sanctification, healing. One may have saving faith, but not healing faith.³⁸¹ Thus Christians may have a lack of faith for certain situations or “lack of certain lines of faith.” *Advocate* readers spoke of this as being “weak in faith.”³⁸² This weakness in faith is not seen as a sin. Faith may allow one to “ward off” or “hold off” diseases before they come but other times, one may be taken sick and “exercise the faith to be healed.”³⁸³ Taylor also held that one could not have faith for healing and have at the same time fear.³⁸⁴ Daniel Johnson wrote of his faith as not having been “sufficient for instant healing” of deafness in one ear, though there was a gradual improvement in his condition. He continued to trust God for the complete healing, which eventually came.³⁸⁵

Sexton reveals that she believed “the faith once delivered to the saints” of the Early Church was a “miracle-working faith.” The unbelief which she saw present in the church was not the “faith once delivered” and was the cause of the dearth of healings and other signs and wonders.³⁸⁶ The obituary of Joseph Edwards reveals that he died in this faith once delivered. Taylor writes of him that he was “certainly one of those mentioned in Hebrews who died in the faith.” He continues, “He died in healing faith.” Edwards had trusted God fully for his healing, taking no medicine. The funeral text was Numbers 23.10: “Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.”³⁸⁷

G. Means of Healing

Pentecostals, like their spiritual grandfather John Wesley, were “people of one book.” Therefore, the prescription for healing was to be found in the Word of God. F. M. Britton exhorts, “Anything that you see that Jesus or the disciples did in the healing of the sick, it is our duty to trust for it, and to go beyond what they did is liable to lead into fanaticism [sic], wild fire and many hurtful things” [sic].³⁸⁸ The readers of *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate*, followed stringently the New Testament instructions about praying for the sick.

³⁸¹ *PHA*, 3.36 (18 March 1920), p. 8.

³⁸² *PHA*, 3.22 (25 September 1919), p. 7.

³⁸³ *PHA*, 3.46 (18 March 1920), p. 9.

³⁸⁴ *PHA*, 4.10 (8 July 1920), p. 10.

³⁸⁵ *PHA*, 1.26 (25 October 1917), p. 6.

³⁸⁶ *PHA*, 1.46 (14 March 1918), pp. 2-3.

³⁸⁷ *PHA*, 1.21 (20 September 1917), p. 5.

³⁸⁸ *PHA*, 3.4,5 (22, 29 May 1919), p. 14.

Advocate readers identified with the characters in the New Testament narratives. Their story became the story of these early Pentecostals. They could “touch Jesus” in the same way the woman with the issue of blood had; they could “cry out” to God as did Bartimaeus. Sarah E. Mitchel declared that she “found more healing in the hem of Jesus’ garment than all the remedies [sic] I could get from doctors.”³⁸⁹ A. R. Holmes testified that his own healing “reminds me of how Jesus healed the palsied man in answer to the faith of the four men that carried him up on the house top to get him to the Master....” He also identifies his case of deliverance with Paul’s healing in Acts 9.18.³⁹⁰

Mrs. Jno. Forrest lists four modes of healing found in scripture: 1) “Direct prayer of faith...”; 2) “United prayer by two or three...”; 3) Anointing with oil by the elders...”; and 4) “Laying on of hands....”³⁹¹ There is evidence that each of these modes was practiced by early Pentecostal Holiness constituents.

The method occurring most frequently in testimonies is prayer, or the prayer of faith. Though it is obvious that other methods (i.e.- anointing with oil, laying on of hands, etc.) took place in the atmosphere of prayer, references which list prayer alone are the most prevalent. Many reports from missionaries detail occasions in which prayer was offered for the healing of either the sick missionary or the residents of the field of service. The J. O. Lehman family reported that God was answering prayer for the healing of the sick and the community is “stirred” saying “...we have never seen it in this fashion.” Lehman describes one such healing: “A little child was in a most marvelous way delivered from death. Expected to die, we prayed for it, when God rebuked the sickness at once to the amazement of them all.” He continues, “I have never witnessed a better agency for creating faith in God and in the Gospel message among the benighted heathen than to see the sick healed right before their eyes.”³⁹² Kenneth E. M. Spooner concurred, “...the success of the work here is due to the fact that the people get something more than salvation for their souls out of Christ.”³⁹³ Later Spooner reports

³⁸⁹ *PHA*, 4.25 (21 October 1920), p. 16. See also 4.29 (18 November 1920), p. 12 in which Mrs. Albert Hutcherson describes “holding on to the Lord” for a newborn baby’s health. J. A. Wood, Jr. also writes about this story in 5.49 (6 April 1922), p. 16.

³⁹⁰ *PHA*, 2.52 (24 April 1919), p. 13.

³⁹¹ *PHA*, 4.40 (27 January 1921), p. 2.

³⁹² *PHA*, 3.12, 13 (17, 24 July 1919), pp. 7-8. See his report and that of the Rhodes in 2.12 (18 July 1918), p. 10-11.

³⁹³ *PHA*, 4.31 (2 December 1920). See also 4.44 (3 March 1921), p. 6.

about the healing of his wife:

My dear wife who has been very sick unto death is much better. Truly it pays to serve Jesus and be true to His teaching. Our dear people whom we have taught the truth of divine healing, gathered around her last Sunday, August 21st, and they took hold upon God for her in prayer, and I can tell you that never were more earnest prayers heard for the healing of any one as were heard on Sunday for her.³⁹⁴

Other readers reported their own experiences of praying for the sick in their homes³⁹⁵ or on the streets.³⁹⁶ Lucy Hudson reported that she held healing services in her home, in which people were healed.³⁹⁷ In many instances a pastor or evangelists or “the saints” would be summoned to the home to pray for the one who was sick.³⁹⁸ One remarkable case involved a child who had set fire to gun shells and had been burned. “They called for the saints to come and pray for him and before we had stopped praying all the blisters were dried up. He came to church next night.”³⁹⁹ Florence Goff testified that a man in Canada was awakened at 2:30 a.m. and impressed to pray for her when she was suffering with an abscess. At that hour she claims that she was given relief as the abscess burst.⁴⁰⁰

Many healings were reported to have taken place in church services where prayer was offered.⁴⁰¹ This ministry of healing often took place at the altar.⁴⁰² The healing could accompany other spiritual experiences. Mrs. Jno. Forrest describes one such experience in which,

she was at the altar seeking sanctification, asking God to heal me soul and body. I felt an electric shock, a tingling come over my body, and that deep sweet peace, so indescribable, that joy unspeakable flooded my soul, and I knew what it was to be whole in body and wholly sanctified through the precious blood of Jesus, praise His great name.⁴⁰³

Another account describes a woman coming to the altar for prayer and being

³⁹⁴ *PHA*, 5.25 (20 October 1921), p. 6.

³⁹⁵ See *PHA*, 3.40 (7 April 1921), p. 4 and 4.16 (19 August 1920), p. 15 for examples.

³⁹⁶ *PHA*, 4.49 (7 April 1921), p. 4.

³⁹⁷ *PHA*, 2.2 (9 May 1918), p. 13.

³⁹⁸ *PHA*, 5.7 (15 June 1922), p. 12; 4.24 (14 October 1920), pp. 14-15..

³⁹⁹ *PHA*, 1.17 (23 August 1917), p. 8.

⁴⁰⁰ *PHA*, 4.49 (7 April 1921), p. 14.

⁴⁰¹ *PHA*, 3.51 (15 April 1920), p. 6; 4.18 (10 September 1920), p. 5; 5.23 (6 October 1921), p. 5.

⁴⁰² *PHA*, 4.3 (20 May 1920), p. 4.

⁴⁰³ *PHA*, 4.40 (27 January 1921), p. 2.

healed, delivered from drug addiction, saved, sanctified and baptized in the Holy Spirit.⁴⁰⁴

Healing of the sick was understood to be a primary part of the Pentecostal worship service. Advertisements for revivals and camp meetings included announcements stating such. The Franklin Springs Camp Meeting had as its purpose:

...to persuade men to repent and be saved, to lead Christians into the second work of grace, to bring sanctified souls into the Pentecostal Baptism of the Spirit with the speaking in other tongues, to heal the sick through Jesus....⁴⁰⁵

In reflecting on the 1920 Franklin Springs Camp Meeting, Taylor writes, "Divine healing was made prominent in the preaching, and some were blessed along this line."⁴⁰⁶

In these services, the sick were often anointed with oil, according to James 5.⁴⁰⁷ This practice was so much a part of the Pentecostal Holiness church that some ministers reported carrying their own vial of olive oil with them, in order to be able to pray for those who requested it.⁴⁰⁸ The anointing with oil could take place in the home of the sick person.⁴⁰⁹

The oil was not understood to be a remedy. It was compared to the waters of the Jordan in the case of Namaan's healing of leprosy. As in this story, the anointing with oil, or laying on of hands may be considered "a foolish thing."⁴¹⁰ Though olive oil was the preference for anointing, not even that was seen to be an absolute.⁴¹¹ None of the contributors attempt to assign a symbolic meaning to the olive oil. They speak of the anointing only as an act which has been prescribed in James for the ministry of healing.

Elders, ministers or saints may have also been called upon to lay hands on the sick person. James F. Epps describes two such instances

⁴⁰⁴ PHA, 2.16 (15 August 1918), p. 11.

⁴⁰⁵ PHA, 3.3 (15 May 1919), p. 16. See 3.15 (7 August 1919) for a similar description of the Falcon Camp Meeting.

⁴⁰⁶ PHA, 5.17 (25 August 1921), p. 4.

⁴⁰⁷ PHA, 2.47 (20 March 1919), p. 14; 3.7, 8 (12, 19 June 1919), p. 16; 3.15, 16 (4, 11 September 1919), p. 6.

⁴⁰⁸ PHA, 3.34 (18 December 1919), p. 16; 5.39 (26 January 1922), p. 12.

⁴⁰⁹ PHA, 3.43 (19 February 1919), p. 16.

⁴¹⁰ PHA, 4.11 (15 July 1920), p. 9. Apparently, Taylor is here countering the argument that Namaan's use of extraordinary means and the use of olive oil for anointing purposes warrants the use of medicine. H. C. Webb also refers to the argument that the anointing in James 5 is "skillful use of medicine" in 2.43 (27 February 1919), p. 6. See also 4.8 (24 June 1920), p. 9.

⁴¹¹ PHA, 5.11 (27 July 1922), p. 10.

involving a “Sister Wood”, who had been healed of a serious stomach obstruction. Later she laid hands on her daughter, who was healed instantly, Along with “Sister Plummer” she also laid hands on Epps. He writes, “When they laid their hands on me the healing virtue was felt, and my lungs felt as though they had been made over new, and since that time I have felt like a new man.” He also recounts he and his wife laying hands on their sick young daughter in the night.⁴¹²

Twice there is a mention of the relationship of the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper and healing. Taylor explains that I Corinthians 11.30 refers to those who “eat without discerning the Lord’s body, and they do not get healed, and so they are weak and sickly” or die. He continues that they could have been healed if they had “discerned the Lord’s body in the sacrament.”⁴¹³ A testimony of the healing of a woman with consumption states that it was while she was taking what she thought would be her last sacrament, she was healed.⁴¹⁴

Other means utilized included anointed handkerchiefs⁴¹⁵ and commanding one to be well in the name of Jesus.⁴¹⁶ Requests for prayer were sent to *The Advocate*, and in at least one case, one finds “all the saints” reading, urged to “fast one meal and pray” on a specific day for the healing of a four year old child. This was to be done in accordance with Matthew 17:14-22.⁴¹⁷ In another instance, Eulee Tanner reports that during her usual fast, God spoke, telling her to wash her hands and face and to eat something. As she ate, breaking the fast, she was healed. She likened the situation to Peter’s rooftop vision in which the Lord told him to eat the unclean animals.⁴¹⁸ In two cases healing is related to sermons printed in *The Advocate*. Mrs. Z. A. Sutpin testifies that as she heard a sermon on healing being read aloud in her home, she was instantly healed.⁴¹⁹ In another, a writer states that he was healed as he read part of a sermon by J. H. King. He says, “...while I was

⁴¹² PHA, 2.5 (30 May 1918), p. 12.

⁴¹³ PHA, 5.5 (2 June 1921), p. 10.

⁴¹⁴ PHA, 4.5 (3 June 1920), p. 5.

⁴¹⁵ PHA, 4.10 (8 July 1920), p. 14; 4.34 (23 December 1920), p. 12; 5.10 (20 July 1922), p. 2; 5.49 (6 April 1922), p. 14.

⁴¹⁶ PHA, 3.6 (5 June 1919), p. 1.

⁴¹⁷ PHA, 1.44 (28 February 1918), p. 5. Though the Matthew text refers to a demon possessed boy, this mother, who is making the request, never attributes her son’s illness to demonic activity.

⁴¹⁸ PHA, 4.3 (20 May 1920), p. 16.

⁴¹⁹ PHA, 1.43 (21 February 1918), p. 5.

reading it there was something went over my body like an electric current and at the time I felt so good that I did not know what was the matter with me, and all at once it flashed over me that the Lord had healed my body.”⁴²⁰

As has been discussed earlier, the Pentecostal Holiness Church was so committed to “trusting God for the body” without the use of physicians and medicine, that a division resulted in 1920. Like other pentecostal bodies, they believed that using medicine or remedies indicated a lack of faith in Jesus as physician. To trust God “in the Bible way” involved absolute surrender to God.⁴²¹ Peonie Hancock testified that she could not be healed until she “laid everything on the altar and took God at His word.”⁴²² R. L. Stewart chided those who are Pentecostals but take medicine:

There are lots of our good people who sing about the coming of Jesus and talk about his coming, pray about His coming, and they say sometimes they are home-sick for heaven, and when they get a chance to go, they will take a hat full of pills to keep from going. If we are Pentecostal, let’s live Pentecost.[sic]⁴²³

In early issues, Taylor believed that God did bless those who take remedies but in doing so they did miss “this special grace and help.”⁴²⁴

There was quite a bit of discussion about how far one was to take such a stand. Did it apply to wearing eyeglasses or having teeth filled? Taylor, himself admitted that he had not trusted God fully in every area. When he had been burned, he had apparently used remedies and had dental help on occasion. He had also used remedies on his eyes. He expressed that he was “looking to Jesus for deliverance.”⁴²⁵ He also contended that

the extracting of teeth and the wearing of glasses for the loss of sight in old age may be considered different from the taking of drugs as a remedy for disease. Men grow old and their eye sight fails, even though they may not be diseased. I can see no harm in looking through a telescope to see the stars, nor looking through a microscope to see tiny objects; and perhaps the wearing of glasses to assist the eye sight would be parallel with these cases.⁴²⁶

The question of vaccinations was also treated by *The Advocate* in its

⁴²⁰ PHA, 3.15 (7 August 1919), p. 10.

⁴²¹ Gustav Sigwalt, “Absolute Surrender”, PHA, 5.45 (9 March 1922), pp. 2-4.

⁴²² PHA, 1.22 (27 September 1917), p. 1

⁴²³ PHA, 3.11 (10 July 1919), p. 7.

⁴²⁴ PHA, 1.27 (1 November 1917), p. 1.

⁴²⁵ PHA, 1.27 (1 November 1917), p. 1.

⁴²⁶ PHA, 3.33 (11 December 1919), p. 10. See also 2.48 (27 March 1919), p. 6.

“Question Box” section. The editor maintained that being vaccinated indicated that one was “not trusting God at that point” because God could keep one from disease without vaccinations.⁴²⁷ Further inquiries resulted in a discussion on the advisability of a Christian carrying insurance.⁴²⁸ T. M. Bizzell, along with Taylor, maintained that carrying life insurance indicated a lack of faith in God.⁴²⁹

The Holiness Pentecostal way was a way of faith. One held to the faith once delivered, taking Jesus as their healer. This may produce trials and tests of faith. Several reports indicate that believers faced persecution for not using physicians or medicine. In commenting on reported state laws requiring the use of doctors when sick, Taylor writes, “it was against the law for Paul to preach Jesus Christ, but he preached Christ crucified just the same. He lost his head for it; but God let him finish his course before any one could take his life. Brethren, if this is worth anything, it is worth dying for.”⁴³⁰ The front page of the November 24, 1921 *Advocate* reports of a case where parents who trusted God entirely for their child’s healing were being turned over to the N. C. Grand Jury because the child had died. “Persecutions are beginning to rise to some extent from the authorities against divine healing and faith in Christ for the same....”⁴³¹ Mrs. D. B. Causey describes being persecuted by neighbors when their baby died with no medical care. She writes, “...but what does that matter for whenever we have gone the last mile of the way and reap the reward that He has for us, we will only wish that we could have suffered more for Jesus.”⁴³² So, the way may lead through persecution and tests. As one writer put it, “...we must testify to divine healing, as well as other things, at every opportunity even at the cost of our lives.”⁴³³ Sigwalt saw the test of an illness which affected his whole family as being from God and declared, “My mind is made up to stand all the tests which the Lord will send.”⁴³⁴

Though these pentecostals were obviously committed to trusting God alone for healing, there was a degree of tolerance for the use of medicine by some and even tolerance for the practice of medicine. Melton contended that

⁴²⁷ PHA, 4.46 (17 March 1921), p. 5.

⁴²⁸ PHA, 4.46 (17 March 1921), p. 5.

⁴²⁹ PHA, 4.14 (5 August 1920), pp. 2-3.

⁴³⁰ PHA, 4.39 (27 January 1921), p. 1.

⁴³¹ PHA, 5.30 (24 November 1921), p. 1.

⁴³² PHA, 3.16, 17 (14, 21 August 1919), p. 10.

⁴³³ PHA, 3.6 (5 June 1919), p. 12.

⁴³⁴ PHA, 5.13 (10 August 1922), p. 15.

a doctor who had received “light on divine healing” could continue his medical practice and “keep his salvation.”⁴³⁵ Taylor did not believe it a sin to use remedies but it was “far better to trust God entirely.”⁴³⁶ When the Franklin Springs, Georgia property was purchased by the Pentecostal Holiness Church and the first Camp Meeting held there, the notice in *The Advocate* contained the following:

This is a noted summer resort. The mineral water here has been of great benefit to hundreds in delicate health. To drink this water for ten days only no doubt will be of great benefit to your health, but best of all, we are expecting a soul-stirring revival.⁴³⁷

In contrast to medicine, this natural source of healing was acceptable for use of Pentecostal Holiness folk.

H. *Healing and the Christian Vocation*

“ ‘He that starteth and looks back is not fit for the kingdom of heaven.’” For G. W. Stanley it was unthinkable that a Pentecostal Holiness minister would do other than “trust God fully” for physical health as well as other needs. Stanley, a pioneer minister in the Virginia Conference, described his work in establishing his tenth church in a 1921 letter. He continues, “I can’t believe that our preachers who are called to preach, and haven’t the faith to believe that God will take care of His own whom He hath called to labor in His vineyard.”⁴³⁸

F. M. Britton echoed this concern in a letter the following month:

Some folks are going back on divine healing themselves and causing others to fail on these lines, but I mean to stand and preach it if it runs all that are tender-footed and weak-kneed out of the P. H. Church. I see no need of preaching divine healing if we don’t live it. We preachers are to be an example to the flock, and if we will preach the full gospel, and live it and demonstrate it by having God to work with us and confirm His Word with signs following, there is bound to be others that will follow and seek and enjoy the blessings of the gospel. Somehow the straighter I preach and live and hold up Jesus as the all sufficient remedy for sin and sickness, the more calls I get.⁴³⁹

The ministry of the Pentecostal Holiness message required that one not

⁴³⁵ *PHA*, 6.39 (25 January 1923), p. 6.

⁴³⁶ *PHA*, 2.19 (5 September 1918), p. 6.

⁴³⁷ *PHA*, 2.11 (11 July 1918), p. 5.

⁴³⁸ *PHA*, 4.37 (13 January 1921), p. 5.

⁴³⁹ *PHA*, 4.41 (3 January 1921), p. 12.

only preach the five-fold gospel but also live it. Taylor proposed a list of examination questions for ministerial applicants in 1922. The questions reflect not only theological commitments but also require the applicant to reflect on his/her own lifestyle. With regard to divine healing, he proposed the following questions: "...What is divine healing?...How is it received?...Is it for all?...Do you trust God for healing?...What would you advise in case of sickness?...."⁴⁴⁰ Clearly, the applicant was to be able to express belief as well as indicate that he/she indeed trusted God fully for healing.

The Sunday School lesson printed in the January 8, 1920 issue focused on the boldness of Peter and John as witnessed in Acts 4. Taylor, the writer of the lesson, took this as an opportunity to exhort preachers to stand boldly for the Pentecostal doctrine.⁴⁴¹

Another aspect of the place of healing in the ministerial vocation is evidenced in the letters written to *The Advocate*. That is, the minister or missionary needed to be able to depend upon God utterly, in order to serve God to the fullest. Eva B. Rousseau, missionary to Hong Kong, testified of God's healing provision and requested that *The Advocate* readers pray that her "strength may be equal to the work he gives...in His vineyard." She signed the letter, "Your sister, saved, sanctified, baptized with the Holy Ghost, and divinely healed."⁴⁴² Evangelists Gustav and Cassie Sigwalt expressed similar concerns in letters printed in 1921 and 1923.⁴⁴³ If healing was to be preached and demonstrations of healing were to follow, then the minister of the five-fold gospel needed both integrity and strength to see the task through.

I. Ultimate Healing

Like Tomlinson of *The Church of God Evangel*, the editors of *The Advocate* were not opposed to printing obituaries. They saw no contradiction between maintaining a belief in divine healing and remembering one who had died in the faith. Obituaries were normally placed under a masthead which proclaimed, "Let me die the death of the Righteous and let my last-end be like His" or, more simply, "Our Dead."⁴⁴⁴ The obituary of infant Nickels

⁴⁴⁰ PHA, 5.28 (9 November 1922), p. 2.

⁴⁴¹ PHA, 3.37 (8 January 1920), p. 2.

⁴⁴² PHA, 5.10 (6 July 1922), p. 13.

⁴⁴³ PHA, 5.25 (20 October 1921), p. 3 and 5.37 (11 January 1923), p. 16.

⁴⁴⁴ See PHA, 1.50 (11 April 1918) ; 5.17 (25 August 1921) for example.

Columbus, who died of measles, featured a picture of the child in his casket.⁴⁴⁵ Obviously the Pentecostal Holiness people felt an ownership of those who had died in the faith.

These obituaries are very honest about the prayer for healing which accompanied the illness. Often they included the last words of the deceased, which were sometimes exhortations and often praises. Sara K. McNeely's obituary, written by her pastor Paul F. Beacham, serves as an example:

During the last hours of her consciousness, though breathing with great difficulty, God gave Sister McNeely strength to testify once more for Him in this world. She praised God for His faithfulness to her, and after trying it for forty two years, said: 'Tis so sweet to trust in Jesus,' for He is more precious than all else to me. [sic] She died in that faith which enabled one present to say: 'Though He slay me, yet will I trust Him.' To the unsaved ones present she said: 'If you will repent God will save you, and He will sanctify and make you pure and fill you with His Spirit, making it evident that such doctrine will do to enter the very presence of God with.'⁴⁴⁶

Writers of obituaries would often remind the reader that the death of a saint was a blessed event. Specifically, readers were told that one should not think of the "momentary loss" but "their eternal gain" and that we "sorrow not as those who have no hope."⁴⁴⁷

Taylor reports in the obituary of N. J. Holmes, founder of Holmes Bible and Missionary Institute, that the funeral sermon preached by J. H. King centered on the text Psalm 37.37, " 'Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the end of that man is peace.'⁴⁴⁸ Though *The Advocate* had in previous issues requested prayer for the aged and ill Holmes, the obituary in no way apologizes for his not being healed on earth. Indeed, it rather asserts that his end is peace.

For Pentecostal Holiness believers, the ultimate healing is found in dying in "the faith once delivered."

⁴⁴⁵ PHA, 1.51 (18 April 1918), p. 10.

⁴⁴⁶ PHA, 3.1, 2 (1, 8 May 1919), p. 14.

⁴⁴⁷ PHA, 2.10 (4 July 1918), p. 11.

⁴⁴⁸ PHA, 22 (January 1920), p. 5.

Part 3--Healing Theology and Practice in the Finished Work Pentecostal Stream

Introduction--

Before proceeding with the analysis of the periodical literature, it would be helpful to review the history of the division. From 1906 to 1910, the Pentecostal movement fit decidedly within the Wesleyan stream of theology. Those who came into the Pentecostal experience from non-Wesleyan (usually Baptist) backgrounds, came via the door of an experience of sanctification as a second definite work of grace.¹ However, in 1910, William Durham, who had traveled this route, began to rethink his theology. Though he had testified to and preached an experience of entire sanctification from about 1901, and testified to an experience of baptism in the Holy Spirit in 1907, in 1910 Durham modified his theology, accommodating it to his Baptist roots.² This new Pentecostal soteriology disclaimed sanctification as a second definite work of grace, seeing justification and sanctification as occurring at the moment of conversion. He based his theology on what he termed the Finished Work of Christ on the cross.

Durham's new soteriology was zealously evangelized from his Chicago headquarters to Los Angeles. The message was received as a new revelation and gained wide acceptance. Though denounced by Charles Parham, William Seymour and the Southeastern United States Pentecostal groups, the message nevertheless became the dominant message of North American Pentecostalism.

I. Healing Theology After Pentecostal Experience--As Reflected in *Triumphs of Faith*

Introduction--

Though Carrie Judd Montgomery had come from the Wesleyan influenced healing movement, her healing theology, especially post Pentecostal experience, was quite different from that of her counterparts in

¹ The term *Baptistic* is used by Land (p. 50), et. al. to describe the Finished Work arm of the movement.

² William H. Durham, "Personal Testimony of Pastor Durham", *PT*, 1.1 (n.d.), pp. 5-6. Durham's testimony is also found in *AF*, 1.6, p. 4. Interestingly, upon his death, a memorial issue of *Pentecostal Testimony* was published which offered another telling of Durham's testimony "Rewritten and published to Glorify Jesus." This version omits the account of his sanctification experience. "Personal Testimony of Pastor Durham", *PT*, 2.3 (n.d.), pp. 3-4.

Pentecostal experience, was quite different from that of her counterparts in the Wesleyan-Pentecostal movement. Early on she had exhibited a healing theology which was heavily influenced by the altar theology of Phoebe Palmer. As early as January 1882, Montgomery (then Carrie Judd) had written about the benefits of the finished work of Christ on the cross: “We are to claim these glorious truths by *faith* and not by *feeling*, we are to stand firmly on the finished work of our Atoning Sacrifice, and thus basing our belief on the solid foundation of God’s never-changing truth, we may ask and expect that the Holy Spirit will *bear witness to the truth*” [italics hers].³

Though Montgomery’s Pentecostal experience precedes, by two years, the explosive introduction of Durham’s message, a comparison of her healing theology with that of the Finished Work Pentecostals, as they would be designated in 1910, reveals a remarkable consistency. In a 1911 issue of his *Pentecostal Testimony*, Durham reports that his revival and theology had been endorsed by “Brother George Montgomery and his wife, Carrie Judd Montgomery”, perhaps an implicit acknowledgment of the correlation between their views.⁴

A. Carrie Judd Montgomery’s Pentecostal Experience

It has been shown that Carrie Judd Montgomery was a primary shaper of healing theology in the nineteenth century.⁵ It has also been demonstrated that she was characterized by an openness to new experiences, especially those of a spiritual nature. Therefore, it is not surprising that she would embrace Pentecostalism as the “Latter Rain” move of God.

In 1906, George Montgomery visited the revival at Azusa Street and received the Pentecostal experience.⁶ In the months leading up to and after this event, *Triumphs of Faith* explored what was happening in this movement. An especially polemical article appears in October 1906, titled “True and False Fire.” This article equates the insistence on “certain phenomena” with

³ *TOF*, 2.1 (January, 1882), p. 3.

⁴ Durham, “The Work of God in Los Angeles: How God Overruled the Attempt of the Devil to Stop It,” *PT*, 1.8 (1911), p. 11.

⁵ See Ch. 2.I.D.5.

⁶ See *TOF*, 26.12 (December, 1906), pp. 247-252. This reprint of a letter from Frank Bartleman, which describes the Azusa meeting, is introduced by Montgomery and refers to her husband’s visit.

“false fire.”⁷ A commendation of the movement by A. S. Worrell appeared in December 1906.⁸ In the January 1907 issue, an editorial appeared carrying the title “The Work in Los Angeles.” In this brief piece Montgomery comments on the lack of unity among Christians in the work. She reports that, “Some of the white people who first received the special blessing among the colored people in the Azusa street meetings, have organized little gatherings in different parts of the city, and continue to receive gracious manifestations of God’s presence.” She continues, “Much that seemed excitable and abnormal about the work has died down but a real work of grace and power remain in many hearts.” Having attended one of these smaller gatherings (and apparently a gathering of white people), she comments positively on the “quiet but powerful manifestations of the Spirit of God in the speaking with tongues, and interpretations.” She warns of counterfeits but also of missing the “fullness of blessing.”⁹

This telling editorial sets the tone for Montgomery’s cautious move toward Pentecostalism. In her own testimony of the experience in the July 1908 issue she confesses, “I watched the so-called Pentecostal work carefully and prayerfully. There was much that did not appeal to me. People who claimed to have received the baptism seemed to get in the way of the Spirit.... Many of the manifestations did not seem at all like the work of the calm, majestic Spirit of God.”¹⁰ Montgomery’s critique of the movement seemed to center on what she perceived as a confusing use of the gift of tongues and of noisy manifestations.

However, having witnessed the personal change in some of her own friends after their Pentecostal experience, she writes that she “grew still more thirsty for the rivers of living water. I knew I had tiny streams, but not rivers.”¹¹

Montgomery writes that she began to seek for the fullness of the Spirit which she did not have but outlined the parameters for the experience: “I then prayed that if it were His will he would let me receive His fullness while waiting upon Him alone, or with some Christian friend. I asked Him also for quiet, sweet manifestations, which would reveal His majesty and dignity, and not such as might seem like excitement of the flesh.”¹²

⁷ *TOF*, 26.10 (December, 1906), pp. 195-198.

⁸ *TOF*, 26.12 (December, 1906), pp.256-257.

⁹ *TOF*, 27.1 (January, 1907), p. 14.

¹⁰ *TOF*, 28.7 (July, 1908), pp. 145-146.

¹¹ *TOF*, 28.7 (July, 1908), p. 147.

¹² *TOF*, 28.7 (July, 1908), p. 147.

With friends praying with her in Cleveland, Ohio, she exercised faith, as she has defined it in regard to healing. First, she made an act of consecration saying, “By the blood of Jesus my whole being is open to the fullness of God, and by that same precious blood I am closed to any power of the enemy.” She writes that the Spirit spoke to her, “Take.” Then she accepted by faith that she had received the Spirit. She testified of this to those around her. She acted on faith and “in a measure” began to “experience His power”. Montgomery writes that the Spirit “held me steadily to my position of faith, not letting me get my eyes on manifestations.” Apparently there were no manifestations that night.¹³

On the following day, in Chicago, at the home of another friend, she prayed and waited on God, “standing by faith.” Within a week, she experienced an outpouring of the Spirit. She writes of making several faith claims during this experience: “I am all under the blood and under the oil” and “Well, He says in Mark xvi:17, ‘They shall speak with new tongues,’ so I take that, too, by faith.” Following this, she began to speak in other tongues, an experience she equated with having rivers of living water flowing through her.¹⁴

Following this account, Montgomery embraced the Pentecostal movement and testified of her experience in Christian and Missionary Alliance Meetings and in meetings around the world.¹⁵ In addition, a Tuesday afternoon “Pentecostal meeting” was held at Beulah Heights and it was reported that orphaned children were being baptized in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in other tongues.¹⁶

Triumphs of Faith, like other Pentecostal publications, became a vehicle for the spread of the Pentecostal message. Reports of Pentecostal outpourings all over the world were printed in its pages on a monthly basis.

B. Montgomery’s Pentecostal Healing Theology

Much of Montgomery’s theology of healing remained the same after her Pentecostal experience. She continued to maintain that divine healing

¹³ *TOF*, 28.7 (July, 1908), p. 147.

¹⁴ *TOF*, 28.7 (July, 1908), pp. 147-148. Most early Pentecostals interpreted John 7.38, 39, Jesus’ metaphor of “rivers of living water,” to be a prophecy of Pentecostal experience. See *TOF*, 28.11 (November, 1908), pp. 248-249. See also *AF*, 1.3 (November, 1906), p. 2.

¹⁵ For examples of accounts of these meetings see *TOF*, 29.7 (July, 1909), pp. 152-154; 29.8 (August, 1909), pp. 178-179; 29.9 (September, 1909), pp. 207-209.

¹⁶ *TOF*, 28.8 (August, 1908), p. 195.

was provided in the atonement¹⁷ and continued to teach that healing could be obtained through faith. In December 1908 the lead article, “Praying and Not Fainting,” outlined the steps of faith, earlier referred to in her testimony of Pentecostal baptism. In addition, this article identified two types of faith: a lower faith outlined in the parable of Luke 18.1 and a higher faith, “where we believe we receive when we pray.”¹⁸ *Triumphs of Faith* continued to report both gradual¹⁹ and instantaneous²⁰ healings. As in her earlier writings, she did not endorse the use of medicine or doctors.²¹

Even before her Pentecostal experience in July 1908, Montgomery had begun writing of the “quickening Spirit of life” with regard to healing. In a sermon based on Exodus 11.7, she contends that the *difference* between the children of God and presumably those of the world or Satan is the blood of the Lamb. The power of the blood shelters and protects the children of God and by the Spirit of life “our bodies may be so quickened...that we may be rendered perfectly immune to every disease which comes near us.”²² This is appropriated through the provision of Christ. By *reckoning* a work as done long ago, one simply claims the promises today. This Calvinistic turn in healing theology had been integrated early on by Montgomery into her understanding of Spirit Baptism and healing.

In July 1909, Montgomery reflected on “A Year With the Comforter.” She again emphasizes this quickening life “in our mortal flesh, according to Romans viii:11.” She reflects, “Now the Spirit who raised Christ from the dead so quickens my mortal body that I drink, continually, deep draughts of a life which is altogether beyond anything in the natural....The tender brooding of the Dove of God manifesting in our mortal bodies the life more abundant which Jesus has wrought out on the Cross for us, and which is a foretaste of the full redemption we shall know when Jesus comes, is far too marvelous to explain, or to put into words.”²³ In fact, for her, tongues is a new medium by which to praise Christ for the new revelation of his finished work.²⁴ In October 1908, Montgomery concludes an article titled “The Quickening Life of the

¹⁷ See *TOF*, 29.1 (January, 1909), pp. 5-8.

¹⁸ *TOF*, 28.12 (December, 1908), p. 265.

¹⁹ See *TOF*, 28.11 (November, 1908), pp. 251-253.

²⁰ See *TOF*, 29.11 (November, 1909), pp. 250-255.

²¹ See *TOF*, 29.4 (April, 1909), p. 78-80.

²² *TOF*, 27.6 (June, 1907), p. 122.

²³ *TOF*, 29.7 (July, 1909), p. 147.

²⁴ *TOF*, 29.7 (July, 1909), p. 147.

Indwelling Spirit” by saying, “But, beloved, the ground work of this glorious fullness is the finished work of the Cross of Christ. Take by faith the power of His Cross upon your spirit, soul and body, take the power of His resurrection life upon your spirit, soul and body, take the Person of the blessed Comforter in all His fullness to manifest Christ in and through you.”²⁵ Rather than Spirit Baptism being a transforming event, or crisis experience, it is a further manifestation of a work already completed. This experience of “quickenings”, since Spirit Baptism, is testified to by others who offer testimonies of either healing or Spirit Baptism.²⁶

An article found in December 1908, reprinted from *Our Monthly*, a British publication, discusses divine healing’s “spiritual side” based on 3 John 2. The author contends that in divine healing, “the Holy Spirit is specially engaged in dealing with the spiritual nature of the sufferer.”²⁷ This is a bit of a turn from the nineteenth century teaching that the soul cure is primary and divine healing is a possibility *because* of the soul’s cure. Again Romans 8.10,11 is referenced as is 2 Corinthians 4.7-11. For this writer, the *treasure* is the “presence of God in Christ”. It is further maintained that “Divine healing and Divine health mean the indwelling of Jehovah Himself in the believer.”

A reprinted article from *The Standard Bearer* in January 1909 reiterates the same thought, though discussing Isaiah 51.31. The renewal of strength referred to in the Isaiah poem is an “exchange” of human weakness for divine strength. “The very essence of the Lord’s healing is the imparting of the life of Christ to the human frame by the Holy Spirit.” The author finally concludes that the health promised is a “higher kind of health.”²⁸

An article by A. B. Simpson appeared in the September 1910 issue titled “Divine Healing Through the Holy Spirit.” No date of composition is given for the article. Therefore, it cannot be determined if this was a reprint of an older work by Simpson. Simpson did not wholeheartedly embrace the Pentecostal movement though he was tolerant of it. Echoing what Montgomery and others have written, Simpson comments on Romans 8.11:

This does not refer to the future resurrection, but to the present

²⁵ *TOF*, 28.10 (October, 1908), p. 219.

²⁶ See *TOF*, 29.1 (January, 1909), p. 18; 29.4 (April, 1909), p. 83; and 29.9 (September, 1909), p. 207.

²⁷ *TOF*, 28.12 (December, 1908), pp. 230-231.

²⁸ *TOF*, 29.1 (January, 1909), p. 5.

working of the Holy Ghost as the structure of the verse requires, the resurrection of the dead being referred to later in the chapter. It is not the body of the resurrection that is here described, but the mortal body, the body now living and subject to death, which He quickens, that is stimulates, invigorates and lifts up to a higher vitality when its natural powers are wanting or exhausted. It is the Spirit that dwells with us now, and not the voice of the Son of God, which at last is to raise the dead. Divine healing is simply the inworking of the Holy Ghost in the physical frame, strengthening into supernatural life the wornout, exhausted functions of the body.²⁹

Simpson goes on to comment on 1 Corinthians 6.19. Here, he says, the Apostle talks about the Spirit indwelling in the body, not just the soul. If the body is his dwelling place then he will make it fit. The Apostle goes on to declare “ ‘The body is for the Lord and the Lord for the body.’ ” Simpson builds his thought by associating Paul’s statement in 2 Cor. 4.10 with this same life-giving Spirit: “Always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our mortal flesh.” Christ, the head, imparts life to the body according to Ephesians 5.30. For Simpson, *body* here is the individual, not the corporate body.³⁰

Simpson next moves to talk about the Holy Spirit as an earnest of the resurrection. He writes, “The Holy Spirit then can only be an earnest to the body in so far as it brings into the body the self-same life that He brings at the resurrection....There must be some sense in which now the Holy Spirit gives to the body an earnest, a pledge, a foretaste of the resurrection. This He does in Divine Healing....”³¹ He concludes by reiterating what others in *Triumphs of Faith* were writing in explaining Romans 8.23 and Isaiah 51.

In February 1910, Montgomery makes the next leap by writing a lead article titled “The Sacredness of the Body.” As it has been purchased by Christ’s provision, it is “sacred property.” Because in the resurrection, the believers’ bodies will be made like that of the resurrected Christ, “Our mortal bodies are to be full of His life, by the power of the indwelling Holy Spirit.” As believers continually offer themselves in acts of consecration, they are more

²⁹ *TOF*, 30.9 (September, 1910), p. 197. Montgomery’s thought is reminiscent of Dowie’s at this point. In “Extracts from ‘Divine Healing Vindicated’” Dowie writes: “ ‘The redemption of our body’ (Rom. 8:23 and I Thess. 5:22-24) is a present redemption, and if we will all let God have his way we may also say with Paul, ‘The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death.’ ” [*LH*, 1.22 (February 15, 1895), p. 340] It is unclear as to whether or not Montgomery had been influenced by Dowie given the “feud” between her mentor, Simpson and Dowie.

³⁰ *TOF*, 30.9 (September, 1910), p. 197.

³¹ *TOF*, 30.9 (September, 1910), p. 198.

and more filled with his life. As they are indwelt by the Spirit, “the whole being becomes spiritual, and is delivered from fleshly appetites which war against the soul.”³² Sanctification is identified with the experience of Spirit Baptism, as it had been in the Holiness movement, but now it has the added dimension of the manifestation of tongues.

A similar article, appearing as a reprint from *Our Monthly*, concluding,

Friends, may you realize more and more that your body is sacred. That is the meaning of Divine healing. Thank God He puts away sickness and disease, but there is far more than that. The Lord does not merely want to put away disease, He wants to come in and be the very Life-Giver, He wants to come in and be the very Life, He wants to give Divine health to all His children, and then you will know the meaning of the prayer of John when he says, ‘Brother, I wish above all things that thou mayest be in health (not natural health, but Divine health), even as thy soul prospereth.’³³

For Montgomery, the Spirit of God operates quietly and in still, small ways. One year after her 1908 experience, she writes that after having been filled with the Spirit, “There has been an increased holy stillness, as all the powers of my being have been brought into subjection to the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus.”³⁴ A reprinted sermon by Alfred Cookman, in the same issue, echoes her thoughts, “The awfulness of the presence of the Spirit to one who was filled would certainly result in a subdued and hallowed state of soul, a sort of ‘silent awe that dares not move,’ and we should feel like stepping softly, and moving guardedly.”³⁵ In addition, *Triumphs of Faith* continued to warn about counterfeits and excesses.³⁶

Perhaps her pneumatology allows more for inward working (i.e., quickening) than outward manifestations, such as those appearing at Azusa Street and in other places. After a visit to Los Angeles she wrote,

We find the most precious Pentecostal people everywhere we go-- those who are “filled with the Holy Ghost and wisdom” (Acts vi:3) quiet, sweet souls, controlled by the blessed Holy Spirit and used by Him to enrich the lives of many others. We also find many other precious ones, who know much of the Spirit’s presence and power, but who have not yet learned to yield to His full control, and therefore the

³² *TOF*, 30.2 (February, 1910), pp. 25, 26.

³³ *TOF*, 30.7 (July, 1910), p. 167.

³⁴ *TOF*, 29.7 (July, 1909), p. 145.

³⁵ *TOF*, 29.7 (July, 1909), p. 149.

³⁶ See *TOF*, 28.11 (November, 1908), pp. 254-258; 28.12 (December, 1908), pp. 278-279; 30.6 (June, 1910), pp. 132-134; 30.11 (November, 1910), pp. 250-251.

power of their testimony seems greatly lessened by “fleshly manifestations,” which repel other hungry, seeking souls.³⁷

Though she believes in signs as confirmation of a work already done, the emphasis for Montgomery has never been on assurance. In fact, the sick are instructed to make a faith claim regarding the sign. They are instructed to pray: “Thou has said the sign of recovery shall follow (literal, accompany). Lord, I believe Thy word alone. I believe the sign of healing now follows or accompanies the laying on of hands in Thy Name.”³⁸ Four months after her Baptism in the Spirit, an article published in *Triumphs of Faith* emphasized that according to Jesus’ instruction in John 13, it is love that identifies the true Christian, rather than signs following believers.³⁹ Montgomery, as editor, could print both articles which insist that tongues are initial evidence of Spirit Baptism⁴⁰ and those which question the position.⁴¹

C. Means of Healing

In addition to the teaching on faith given by Montgomery, she clearly endorses the instruction given in James 5. Testimonies of healing printed in *Triumphs of Faith* evidence the practice of anointing with oil.⁴² The imposition of hands is the other most frequently mentioned method or practice.⁴³

As noted, Montgomery did not change her position on the use of medicine or physicians. For Montgomery the higher form of faith dictates trusting in Christ alone as Healer and Physician.⁴⁴ While healing may occur as a result of remedies, proper diet, and medical advice, this is not *divine healing*, which is a spiritual work and not merely physical.⁴⁵ As has been noted earlier, there is a spiritual aspect to the healing which Christ works in a person. The person is healed spirit, soul and body.⁴⁶

Like other Pentecostals, Montgomery also reports on healings which

³⁷ *TOF*, 30.2 (February, 1910), p. 27.

³⁸ *TOF*, 28.5 (May, 1908), p. 99.

³⁹ *TOF*, 28.11 (November, 1908), p. 241.

⁴⁰ *TOF*, 30.9 (September, 1910), p. 206.

⁴¹ *TOF*, 28.11 (November, 1908), pp. 260-262.

⁴² See for example *TOF*, 29.4 (April, 1909), p. 79 and 30.9 (September, 1910), p. 169.

⁴³ See for example *TOF*, 29.11 (November, 1909), pp. 250-256 and 29.9 (September, 1909), pp. 272-274.

⁴⁴ See an earlier article from April 1908, “Divine Healing and Medical Science”, *TOF*, 28.4 (April, 1908), pp. 77-79. Here the distinction between *divine healing* and healing based on science is discussed.

⁴⁵ *TOF*, 27.9 (September, 1907), p. 212.

⁴⁶ *TOF*, 28.10 (October, 1908), p. 218 and 29.8 (August, 1909), p. 188.

occur as a result of an anointed handkerchief being sent to a sick person or to a person who is bound by a habit, such as alcohol.⁴⁷

Montgomery was particularly impressed with the work of a Dr. Yoakum in Los Angeles, a former physician and innovator in the use of X-rays. Yoakum had been healed of lung disease after being anointed with oil and had given himself to the care of “drunkards, consumptives and insane persons.”⁴⁸ Yoakum operated a healing home, Pisgah Home, in Los Angeles. Yoakum not only anointed with oil, practiced laying hands on the sick, and anointed handkerchiefs but according to Montgomery’s account, “Dr. Yoakum first casts out the demons from these men, before he attempts to lead them to Christ for salvation.”⁴⁹ This was done according to Mark 16.17. Another account of Yoakum’s work reports one of these instances:

A man came tottering up so full of liquor that he could not steady himself, and he had to be helped, but he was seeking deliverance. He had to be helped to his knees, and there he confessed his sins. Then the Doctor rebuked the demon in him, and commanded it to leave him in Jesus’ name. Then he gave him a cup of cold water in the name of Jesus, and bade him arise, saved, delivered, pardoned, with the intoxication gone. He rose, his face shone, he shook hands, the Doctor’s loving arms were flung around him, he gave him the kiss of love and affection and the man walked back to the further end of the room without falter or stagger, sobered and saved, and after shaking hands with some of his old friends, whom he found there, he went back to his work.⁵⁰

The giving of the cup of cold water in Jesus’ name seems here to operate as a sign of newness of life, possibly a sign of an alcoholic’s reception of living water after which he or she would never again thirst for alcohol.

⁴⁷ *TOF*, 27.1 (January, 1907), p. 17.

⁴⁸ *TOF*, 28.3 (March, 1908), p. 57.

⁴⁹ *TOF*, 27.1 (January, 1907), p. 15. Montgomery published an article by Pastor A. M. Niblock in the December 1910 issue which discussed demon possession. Apparently Niblock, and possibly Montgomery, not only allowed for demons as the source of illness and life-controlling problems such as alcoholism, but also allowed that Christians could find themselves in the position of being demon possessed. He writes, “Demons are ever ready to take possession of our bodies and souls, our thoughts and senses, and this they try to do gradually, and are able to possess us in as much as we yield to them. Let us yield ourselves to God. (Romans xii:1)” (30.12, [December, 1910] p. 288.).

⁵⁰ *TOF*, 28.3 (March, 1908), p. 59.

II. Healing Theology and Practice as Documented in Assemblies of God Publications

A. History of the Assemblies of God

Unlike some other prominent American Pentecostal bodies, the Assemblies of God did not come into existence as a "pentecostalized" Holiness group--a Wesleyan-Holiness body which embraced Pentecostalism. The Assemblies of God began as a fellowship of predominantly white ministers and congregations who had embraced the recently introduced "finished work" soteriology of William H. Durham. Durham's "finished work" theology,⁵¹ though rejected by Parham, Seymour, Florence Crawford's Apostolic Faith movement in Portland, Oregon and the southern Pentecostals (Church of God, Church of God in Christ and Pentecostal Holiness) had gained a strong foothold among independent Pentecostals in predominantly urban centers. The theology was easily accepted by those Pentecostals who had come from Baptist backgrounds, as had Durham, as well as by those who had come from Alexander Dowie's Zion City in Illinois. While many of these white ministers had been ordained by African-American Charles H. Mason of the Church of God in Christ,⁵² in reality, they were already having fellowship along racial lines. These two distinctions, one racial and one theological, led these Pentecostals to call for an organizational meeting in Hot Springs, Arkansas in 1914.

Previous to this historic meeting, moves toward unification among some of these "assemblies" had already begun. Three Pentecostal ministers, Eudorus N. Bell, J. Roswell Flower and Mack M. Pinson had already formed a network of sorts among these ministers through their respective publications, *The Apostolic Faith* (not connected to either Seymour's, Parham's or Crawford's works), *Christian Evangel*, and *Word and Witness*.⁵³ In 1913, a merger initiated by Bell and H. G. Rodgers, a convert of Cashwell, "resulted in an all-white church with 352 ministers.

⁵¹ Though Durham is credited with the integration of this doctrine into Pentecostalism, he cannot be called the originator of the doctrine. It was essentially a Calvinist doctrine which denied the Wesleyan-Holiness view of sanctification. It was similar to Finney and Mahan's Oberlin theology (Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, p.150) and was espoused by Carrie Judd Montgomery as early as 1882 (*TOF*, 2.1 [January, 1882]).

⁵² Many saw a need to hold credentials for practical purposes; ministerial credentials allowed them to receive discounts on rail travel and to perform weddings. (Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, p.126).

⁵³ Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, p. 153.

Although the group continued to use the name 'Church of God in Christ,' it began to issue separate ministerial credentials that superseded those issued earlier by Mason."⁵⁴

Word and Witness, now edited by Bell, announced a " 'General Council' of all 'pentecostal saints and Churches of God in Christ'" to convene in Hot Springs, Arkansas in April 1914.⁵⁵

These Pentecostals, though having a unity of experience, came to the meeting from various backgrounds: Christian and Missionary Alliance, Dowie's Zion City, the Elim movement in Rochester as well as Parham's Apostolic Faith group.⁵⁶ However, many of them held one other thing in common. Historian Edith Blumhofer observes, "Pentecostals tended to distrust organization, claiming that the NT offered no precedent for anything beyond local church order. Most Pentecostals had distanced themselves from the denominations before embracing Pentecostal teaching; some had been forced to break denominational ties when they had begun espousing tongues speech and divine healing. Most were convinced that organization stifled the Holy Spirit."⁵⁷

Mason, who had credentialed many of the ministers, was invited to speak, but his involvement stopped there. Though the delegates expressed their reservations regarding denominations, the result was the formation of a "loosely conceived agency that adopted neither a constitution nor a doctrinal statement."⁵⁸ Headquarters were established at St. Louis, Missouri and a Bible school at Findlay, Ohio.

The opening sermon of the 1914 meeting, preached by Pinson, was titled "The Finished Work of Calvary." Bell, who had become a Pentecostal at Durham's church in Chicago, was elected chairman. It is not surprising then that the newly formed "General Council of the Assemblies of God" adopted statements of faith regarding Pentecostal experience and tongues and progressive sanctification.⁵⁹

A more formal "Statement of Fundamental Truths" which identified

⁵⁴ Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, p. 153.

⁵⁵ Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, p. 154.

⁵⁶ E. L. Blumhofer, "Assemblies of God," *DPCM*, p. 24. The extent of Dowie's influence on the ERG is difficult to determine. Though there are noted similarities, there are also distinct differences in healing theology and practice. See *Excursus 1* in Ch. 2 and n. 28 in Ch. 3, Part 3.I.B.

⁵⁷ Blumhofer, "Assemblies of God," *DPCM*, p. 24.

⁵⁸ Blumhofer, "Assemblies of God," *DPCM*, p. 24.

⁵⁹ Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, p. 24.

what was acceptable theologically was adopted at the 1916 General Council after a rupture over the “New Issue” or oneness theology.⁶⁰ The Council adopted a Trinitarian statement, in spite of the fact that some of its earliest leaders had been swayed by the “New Issue.”

In 1918, another rift was felt when a leading evangelist in the church, F. F. Bosworth, published a pamphlet, “Do All Speak With Tongues?” which questioned evidential tongues speech. Bosworth had resigned over the issue. The discussions which ensued further solidified the position within the denomination.⁶¹

Through the decades following these formative years, the Assemblies of God established itself as a denomination with a constitution, a more developed Statement of Fundamental Truths, limited ministerial training and systematic missionary support in addition to its already well-established publishing efforts.

Probably owing to its origins in a non-denominational ethos, the Assemblies of God has been characterized by a certain ambiguity in regard to some issues. For instance, a marked skepticism toward education was exhibited by ministers and the early publications of the denomination. Though a school was established at the first Council, the congregational form of government did not lend itself to its total support. Therefore, the General Council began endorsing already established schools which were of a Pentecostal persuasion. Further, there was a strong sense among many of the ministers that formal education was an attempt to “finish in the flesh what had been begun in the Spirit.” Blumhofer observes that this view was fueled by the strong restorationist leanings of many in the body as well as their belief regarding the “imminence of the end.”⁶²

Another area where this kind of ambiguity is noted is with regard to the role of women. Bell, probably owing to his Southern Baptist background,

⁶⁰ See Anderson, pp. 176-194; Faupel, pp. 270-306; Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, pp. 158-160. See Section III.A of this chapter for a history of the introduction of this new theology or the “New Issue.” This “New Issue” swept through the Pentecostal ranks, taking many Pentecostal leaders with it. Some of these were Assemblies of God presbyters and pastors [Bell, Rodgers, Haywood]. This issue was “settled” for the Assembly of God General Council in 1916, where Flower, et al., won the day, championing the Trinitarian position. Bell was convinced again of the Trinitarian position. The Holiness-Pentecostal churches in the Southeastern United States do not appear ever to have been seriously threatened by the controversy (Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, p.159).

⁶¹ Blumhofer, p. 25.

⁶² Blumhofer, p. 26.

and others, held strongly to the view that women were not permitted by the New Testament to hold the office of pastor. This opinion is inherent in the language used to refer to ministers in the periodicals. Advertisements for “new fields of ministry” explicitly request that men answer the call. Voting at the General Council by women was not allowed until 1920. It was limited to ministers, and though many Pentecostal women had been evangelizing, serving as pastor or involved in missions or benevolence ministries prior to 1914, and some had even been ordained, voting was not permitted. In 1935, full ordination was granted but women were allowed to administer the sacraments only “ ‘when such acts are necessary.’ ”⁶³ Articles by women and Sunday School lessons written by women were printed frequently, however. The evangelistic ministries of several women apparently came to places of prominence and were followed carefully by the periodicals.

In the early Assembly of God literature there is a strong adherence to dispensational eschatology. While all early Pentecostals were premillennial, not all initially held to dispensationalism. In 1917, a lengthy article by W. W. Simpson, of the Assembly of God institution Bethel Bible School, defended the experience of Baptism in the Spirit as a post-conversion experience as evidenced by speaking in other tongues. Simpson argues extensively with C. I. Scofield’s objections to the experience, objections which are based on his dispensationalism. Remarkably, this editorial note follows:

There are many men, mighty in the Scriptures, who have failed to comprehend the baptism of the Holy Spirit as it is now being manifested. But because they have thus failed, it is no reason for our discounting all their good works. Many of their writings *show signs of divine inspiration*, and the Scofield Reference Bible, which contains no attacks on the Pentecostal or any other movement, is still highly esteemed among us. The Scofield Bible is found in the hands of hundreds of Pentecostal preachers, workers and bible students, who take advantage of its clear teachings and rejoice in the aid which its use affords. We continue in our recommendation of the Scofield Bible as the best work of its kind that has ever been published. [italics mine]⁶⁴

On the following page, an article reporting on the past sales of the Scofield Bible to *Weekly Evangel* readers and making it available again for sale can be found. Similar advertisements and endorsements can be found in other

⁶³ Blumhofer, p. 26.

⁶⁴ *WE*, (July 14, 1917), p. 6.

issues as well. The disparity evidenced here, as in other places, is perhaps indicative of the loose organizational structure.

In summary, the Assemblies of God began as an attempt at unifying independent ministers, many of whom had chosen not to be a part of already established Pentecostal denominations, for one reason or another. It has evolved into the largest Pentecostal denomination in the world, with a congregational-Presbyterian ecclesiology, and with much of its theological definition resulting from its reaction to doctrinal controversy.

B. Origins of Illness

Florence Burpee, one of the most prolific writers on healing beliefs in the Assemblies of God literature, allowed that illness could originate from varied sources. First and foremost, sin may be the cause. Diseases such as tuberculosis and cancer could be the result of sin and could actually be inherited from past generations. By breaking “natural laws,” one could become ill. In addition, as in the case of Miriam, God may directly punish the person who breaks a spiritual law. James 5.16 is appealed to here, “ ‘Confess your faults one to the other, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed.’ ”⁶⁵ However, Burpee also allowed for sickness as a test from God. Based on Job’s story, she remarks, “In a case of this kind, I do not suppose any amount of prayer would bring deliverance immediately, and God’s servants should be so close in touch with Him that they can detect every cause of disease.” She advises that the prayer of faith will not be given by God until the testing time is complete: “So learn your lesson quickly and seek deliverance.”⁶⁶ She also allowed that sickness could come from overwork, even in working for the Lord.

Another writer, Alice Reynolds Flower, explained that, as with the man born blind in John 9, not all illness may be traced to sin, but some was given “ ‘that the works of God should be made manifest in him.’ ”⁶⁷

Others attributed the source of some illnesses as demonic.⁶⁸ Mrs. Henry Selman’s testimony of healing attributed a skin disease to a demon. Though she had tried both prayer and medications, she writes, “But I never

⁶⁵ *WW*, (October 1915), p. 5.

⁶⁶ *WW*, (October 1915), p. 5.

⁶⁷ *WE*, (March 24, 1917), p. 10.

⁶⁸ A later article in the *PE*, (February 18, 1922), p. 6, titled “Seven Reasons Why Sick are Not Healed” by Max Wood Moorhead, attributes afflictions to both possession and oppression by demons. He does not distinguish between the two.

thought of commanding the demon to leave my body or asking any one else to pray in that way for my healing.” This was done by a “Pentecostal brother” who, in a church service, “anointed my hands and head with oil in the name of Jesus, and commanded the devil to leave me.”⁶⁹ At this stage it seems it was held by some that demons could possess either Christians or non-Christians. Alcoholism was apparently attributed to demon possession. A wife requesting prayer for her husband in 1918 wrote, “Pray that the demon of strong drink may be cast out.”⁷⁰ Stanley Frodsham’s endorsement of Pisgah Home in Los Angeles, gives an account of a woman who was healed of rheumatism and delivered from “demon power.”⁷¹

Sickness, ultimately, is a result of sin entering the world through Adam. Burt McCafferty wrote, “If Adam had gone on in his purity, instead of disobeying God, there would have been no sin, sickness, nor death. For by one man sin entered the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, Rom. 5;12.”⁷² With this understanding, it is easy to assume that the remedy for sickness is found in the atonement, as is the remedy for sin.

C. Divine Healing Provided in the Atonement

McCafferty, echoing the beliefs of the Assemblies of God, adamantly stated that “in the atonement provision was made for the healing of our bodies as well as for our souls.”⁷³ The earliest publications of the Assemblies emphasized healing in the atonement. Already in 1912, Bell’s *Word and Witness* advocated the doctrine. In an article titled “The Certainty of Healing for our Bodies” he wrote, “First it is **promised** in the great **Atonement** chapter, Isa.53;5 that ‘with **His stripes** we are **healed**’” [emphasis his].⁷⁴ He goes on to identify “grief” in verse four as sickness, an interpretation he saw as warranted by Matthew 8.

Owing to his finished work theology, McCafferty contends that “In God’s sight we are already healed in Jesus, even as we are already ‘accepted in the Beloved,’ and so Peter uses the past tense ‘Ye were,’ and the moment we pray ‘the prayer of faith’ it becomes an experimental reality in

⁶⁹ *PE*, (May 15, 1920), p. 10.

⁷⁰ *WE*, (February 23, 1918), p. 15.

⁷¹ *WE*, (March 17, 1917), p. 2.

⁷² *WE*, (July 21, 1917), p. 4.

⁷³ *WE*, (July 21, 1917), p. 4.

⁷⁴ *WW*, 8:8 (Oct. 20, 1912), p. 1.

the present and we 'are' healed, Isa.53:5."⁷⁵ Mrs. G. N. Eldridge focuses on the "Blood Covenant," the "great inheritance there is for us and our children thro' the atoning work of Jesus Christ."⁷⁶ She continues, "How shall the Blood Covenant be made effective for our children, our whole families? Simply by standing on God's Word, accepting it, receiving it as the Truth, taking it, claiming and proclaiming it as ours for ourselves and for our dear ones."⁷⁷ Healing was provided for and finished in the atonement. It now simply should be appropriated by a faith claim.

Like others in the Pentecostal movement, then, healing was a provision of Christ's atoning work. But the finished work theology foundational to the Assemblies of God meant that it was appropriated differently.

D. The Holy Spirit and Healing

Alice Reynolds Flower was a leading writer in the Assemblies of God literature. She composed poetry as well as weekly Sunday School lessons and devotions. She wrote extensively on the Spirit's role in healing of the body. Like Carrie Judd Montgomery, she identified the Spirit as the life-giving Spirit. For her, the Spirit-filled life meant "life and liberty."⁷⁸ She reflected on this belief in a poem:

'Tis Jesus who quickens this body,
 Frail dust in itself--but His life
More abundant imparted, brings healing
 And strength for each hour of the strife.
'Tis Jesus--both now and forever,
 The same strong, compassionate Lord,
Who said "I will leave thee, no never."
 What a privilege to rest on His word!

Just Jesus--the temple all filling,
 His power permeating my frame,
Till my soul is transported with glory,
 And my lips can but breathe His sweet name.
Just Jesus--the Saviour all-glorious--
 The message of true Pentecost,

⁷⁵ WE, (July 21, 1917), p. 4.

⁷⁶ WW, (August 1915), p. 3.

⁷⁷ WW, (August 1915), p. 3.

⁷⁸ WE, (January 15, 1916), p. 10.

Revealing forever--just Jesus,
Through the power of the Holy Ghost.⁷⁹

The powerful experience of baptism in the Spirit, the Pentecostal experience, filled the human frame with Jesus' life, power and healing. The quickening Spirit imparted Jesus' life.⁸⁰ This belief is also witnessed to by the many testimonies of healing occurring at the time of Spirit baptism or in the hope that this would occur.⁸¹

Like Flower, E. N. Bell was emphatic that it was Jesus who brought these blessings through the power of the Spirit. He warned in 1915, "Much is being said in these days about the 'resurrection life,' and most people seem to feel that the Holy Ghost is the resurrection life; but this is not once so said in the Bible. But Jesus most emphatically declares of himself, 'I am the resurrection and the life,' John 11:25." This "wonderful stream of life" is "transmitted" into the human by way of the Spirit. "In a very clear and distinct way Paul shows Christ is the LIFE-GIVING SPIRIT in his contrast between the first Adam and the Second Adam, Jesus Christ. 'The second Adam became a quickening Spirit,' 1 Cor. 15:45. 'Quickening' means LIFE-GIVING. So Jesus is not only the fountain head of life, not only 'is the Lord that Spirit,' but has also become the great LIFE-GIVING SPIRIT that 'giveth life unto the world.'"⁸² It is noteworthy that one month before this publication, Bell had been rebaptized in Jesus' name and was seemingly in the camp of those supporting the "New Issue."⁸³

Other testimonies printed in the literature reveal that the Spirit was understood to be the renewer of physical life. Will C. Trotter, a pastor from Portland, Oregon and frequent contributor to the publications described the experience of a seventy-seven year old man in his congregation: "...O the transformation! He is renewed in Spirit and in body--is now like a young colt; says since his mighty baptism Sunday last that he feels like 30--goes about like a boy of 15, shouting and praising the Lord; is working like a young man

⁷⁹ *CE*, (Oct. 3, 1914), p. 4.

⁸⁰ Another poem, "At Easter-tide" was printed on the cover of the March 30, 1918 edition of *WE*. It too reflected on the quickening of the Holy Spirit.

⁸¹ In addition to those cited above and which follow see *WW*, (August 20, 1912), p. 3; *WE*, (August 11, 1917), p. 16; *PE*, (July 10, 1920), p. 1.

⁸² *WW*, (August 1915), p. 4.

⁸³ See Faupel, pp. 290-300. Both Flower and Bell tend toward the confusion of the work of Jesus and the Spirit. Ironically, it was Flower's husband, J. Roswell Flower, who championed the Trinitarian cause in the Assemblies of God during this time.

and attends the services both on the street and in the hall nightly.”⁸⁴ Alice Rowlands Frodsham, wife of a presbyter in the Assemblies, testified that since being healed from a semi-invalid state, “I recognized the fact that Jesus Christ was the all-sufficient life for my mortal body; I rejoiced in the knowledge that the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwelt in me, and that He that raised up Christ from the dead was even now giving life to my mortal body by His Spirit that indwelt me.”⁸⁵ In another account she wrote, “It was so wonderful to know that I really could have the life of Jesus in my body” and recited the words of a hymn,

Moment by moment, I’m kept in His love,
Moment by moment, I’ve *life from above* [italics hers].⁸⁶

In accordance with finished work theology, this life-giving Spirit of Christ was appropriated through what appear to be mental exercises. Frodsham writes, “During this time I learned to treat all apparent sicknesses as temptations to the flesh, (see Gal. 4:14) and as I maintained this attitude I would come off more than conqueror every time.”⁸⁷ She explains, “After twelve months of acquiring the habit of counting momentarily on the life of Jesus, I did not seem to be conscious that I had a body, I never felt tired and I only went to bed because it seemed the customary thing to do.”⁸⁸

Frodsham does go on to explain that a sort of spiritual pride resulted from this experience and that the Holy Spirit taught her that she did need to rely not just on her own efforts in acquiring healing but would need to incorporate the body of Christ into her walk of faith.⁸⁹

In appropriating the Spirit of Life, an exchange is made: old mortality is exchanged for new creation. Elizabeth Sisson writes, “ ‘As He is, so are we in this world.’ On the throne, in a perfected humanity, sits Jesus, in a blooming immortality, forevermore untouchable to the temptations, the diseases of Old Mortality, in holiness, in happiness, in health, alive forever more. Such is the power of His resurrection, and all made over to us.”⁹⁰ The faith needed to appropriate this life also comes through the enlightenment of

⁸⁴ WE, (May 5, 1917), p. 16.

⁸⁵ WE, (May 12, 1917), p. 3.

⁸⁶ WE, (January 20, 1917), p. 5.

⁸⁷ WE, (May 12, 1917), p. 3.

⁸⁸ WE, (January 20, 1917), p. 5.

⁸⁹ WE, (May 12, 1917), p. 3.

⁹⁰ WE, (June 16, 1917), p. 5.

the Holy Spirit, through which one sees one's "redemptive rights."⁹¹ She explains that she no longer has healings to report in her life, for she is now "kept in Christ Jesus' life and health." She proclaims the benefits of the finished work of Calvary saying, "I was healed eighteen hundred years ago on the cross."⁹²

Another way that "abundance of Life" may be appropriated is through "eating Christ's flesh and drinking His blood." In doing so, "you partake of a powerful, efficacious stimulant, an elixir from the Throne." Though the initial step in this partaking of life is through his sacrifice, "Then there is also abundance of Life through the overflowing Spirit." How does one partake of this "elixir"? The answer is to "Reckon on the Spirit and the blood."⁹³ Pastor C. H. Waddell's sermon "How to Receive Divine Healing" supports this view. In commenting on John 6.53-57, he writes, "If we can receive these words into our minds and hearts as the living words of the Lord Jesus Christ, we shall receive not only Divine healing, but also Divine health, and we shall receive Him as the Healer, the Health, and the Life, and the Spirit."⁹⁴ This is more than partaking of the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, he contends, but those who do not discern the Lord's body correctly, as the source of life and health, become ill.⁹⁵ Testimonies of healing occurring while the Lord's Supper was being observed appeared in 1915.⁹⁶ The "divine alchemy" of the ordinance was discussed in the May 4, 1918 issue.⁹⁷ However, an article by Dr. Sidney Smith, titled "Discerning the Lord's Body," warned that an emphasis on healing in the commemoration of the Lord's Supper could impair worship, "the benefit eclipsing the benefactor."⁹⁸

The manifestation of health as a result of the Holy Spirit's indwelling is further discussed by Mildred Edwards. Edwards, writes that since her Spirit-baptism,

I no longer ask for healing. I recognize all symptoms of disease as testings of that Word in me. The enemy cannot touch that new creation. At times the old creation and its symptoms seem very real, as in March of this present year when God permitted him to put

⁹¹ *WE*, (June 16, 1917), p. 5.

⁹² *WE*, (June 16, 1917), p. 6.

⁹³ *CE*, (December 28, 1918).

⁹⁴ *CE*, (February 8, 1919), p. 2.

⁹⁵ *CE*, (February 8, 1919), p. 3.

⁹⁶ *WE*, (August 21, 1915), p. 3.

⁹⁷ *WE*, (May 4, 1918), p. 8.

⁹⁸ *PE*, (July 24, 1920), p. 4.

symptoms of measles and bronchitis on the old creation. At the beginning I saw myself, the new creation, seated with Christ in the heavenlies, but the old 'dead' creation given over to Satan for testing. The suffering was terrible, and the symptoms very real, but I did not ask for healing or remedies through seven days of fearful fever and pain, and in the midnight hours of the seventh day He again manifested the new creation, that which is like Him who is a 'consuming fire' whom the prophet of old saw as the "appearance of fire from the loins even downward and from the loins even upwards."⁹⁹

Taking the argument further, Edwards goes on to imply that, like Enoch, by faith one would not have to see death. This view is supported by an article titled "A Homely Talk on Healing," written by M. Martin, a woman of London who concludes by saying, "And for some time past He has been teaching some of us that not only sickness but death itself must be overcome if we are to meet Him in the air."¹⁰⁰ Martin later expounded her views in an article titled, "Death Destroyed, Life Triumphant."¹⁰¹

Perhaps unwittingly, the Assemblies of God editorial staff may have supported the contention that death was not to be acknowledged, by their decision not to publish obituaries in 1915. J. R. Flower, then Office Editor, citing a lack of space as the reason, wrote, "We trust our readers in future will not embarrass this office by requesting us to publish death notices for anyone except it be someone who is well known as a worker over one or more States of the Union, or a missionary on the foreign field."¹⁰²

More intentional, was the publication a series of steps to overcoming death, in February of 1920. Note the emphasis placed on the active verbs:

I **refuse** my old physical life with its disease and death.
I **declare** death to it and ask God to destroy it.
I **stand** NOW upon the Finished Work of Jesus Christ-in the choice of my will dead unto Sin in body as well as in Spirit and Soul.
I **will** to live wholly by Divine and Heavenly Life.
I **pray** that I may be filled to the uttermost with this Life.
I **trust** God to give it to me and make it manifest moment by moment.
I **refuse** all evil spirits of death and resist them in The Name of Jesus.
I **refuse** the prince of death himself and declare in faith, that as I am joined to the Prince of Life, he is powerless to hold me in death [emphasis theirs].¹⁰³

⁹⁹ *WE*, (May 12, 1917), p. 7.

¹⁰⁰ *WE*, (May 12, 1917), p. 7.

¹⁰¹ *WE*, (August 25, 1917), p. 3. This article was reprinted at the recommendation of George Montgomery, husband of Carrie Judd Montgomery.

¹⁰² *WE*, (July 3, 1915), p. 2.

¹⁰³ *PE*, (February 21, 1920), p. 3.

It seems that in the Assemblies of God, the trajectory of Pentecostal Finished Work theology points to a belief in not only healing for the body but also a position of being in divine health, even being able to resist death. While it cannot be stated that this was ever an official position of the denomination, there is certainly evidence of its apparent widespread acceptance among leadership and laypersons alike.

E. Signs Following Believers

Like other early Pentecostals, those in the Assemblies of God seemed to see in their own experience those signs prophesied by Jesus in Mark 16. E. N. Bell, as early as 1912, justified tongues speech by identifying it as a sign following believers. In specifying the benefits of speaking in tongues, he defines a “sign” as pointing to belief or faith, as confirmation that the Holy Spirit has been poured out and that Jesus is at the right hand of the Father.¹⁰⁴ Likewise, healing is a sign of the same¹⁰⁵ and a demonstration of the Gospel.¹⁰⁶

Before his assent to the Oneness baptismal formula, E. N. Bell attempted to explain what it meant “to act in the name of another.” Among the many texts examined was Mark 16.17-18. He discussed the fulfillment of “most of these” signs in the days of the Apostles, but notes that the statement in 16.20 did confirm that each was fulfilled. The integrity of the text was maintained by Bell in 1918, his argument based on the discovery of the Freer manuscript in 1906, a manuscript deemed reliable. Frodsham saw this discovery as a vindication of God’s Word in the last days because the discovery coincided with the outpouring at Azusa. Frodsham concludes, “To question now the authority of the last verses of Mark 16 is to be out of date. Not to believe them is to be out of blessing.”¹⁰⁷

Scores of revival reports and testimonies underscored Frodsham’s conclusion.¹⁰⁸ Missionaries reported that Mark 16.18 was being fulfilled in

¹⁰⁴ *WW*, (August 20, 1912), p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ *WW*, (Oct. 20, 1912), p. 1.

¹⁰⁶ *CE*, (August 8, 1914), p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ *PE*, (April 28, 1923), p. 9. According to Frodsham, a Mr. C. L. Freer had obtained, in Egypt, a Greek manuscript containing the New Testament text. This codex contained the questionable longer ending of Mark. The manuscript in question is Codex Washingtonius.

¹⁰⁸ See *CE*, (May 9, 1914), p. 4; (September 19, 1914), p. 1; (November 7, 1914), p. 3; (January 30, 1915), p. 3; *WE*, (August 21, 1915), p. 3; (April 29, 1916), p. 14; (September 30, 1916), p. 4; (January 20, 1917), p. 16; (March 17, 1917), p. 4; (July 14, 1917), p. 14; *CE*, (June 14, 1919), p. 7; *PE*, (May 15, 1920), p. 10; (July 10, 1920), p. 12.

India,¹⁰⁹ China¹¹⁰ and Japan.¹¹¹ It was the subject of Sunday School lessons¹¹² and sermons.¹¹³ The text appeared on the masthead of *The Weekly Evangel* in 1918.

One of the more interesting interpretations of the text is found in an article titled “The Restoration of All Things.” The signs designated by Jesus in Mark 16 were here understood to be a reversal of the curse: Adam’s tongue had been “tainted”; Satan came in the form of a serpent and was cursed to crawl on his belly; Satan’s venom (poison) had been “put into the minds of men”; and sickness was in the earth.¹¹⁴ A later article, “The Pentecostal Commission” emphasized this reversal: “The resurrected Christ commenced the new work of restoration by giving a commission to His disciples, and one of the first items of the commission was to cast out the devils, the intruders who came into the Paradise, the Eden of God.”¹¹⁵

At least for E. N. Bell, as editor of the “Questions and Answers” section, the text did not refer to a specific command to take up serpents. He writes, “Only those who are ignorant as to what the original for ‘shall’ in verses 17 and 18 means, ignorant also of other scriptures and the principles involved, will accept a challenge from unbelievers to wilfully [sic] handle poisonous snakes to prove they are believers or that they have the power of God.”¹¹⁶ To accept this kind of challenge would be to tempt God. He maintained that the text referred to the kind of situation which occurred in Acts 28.3-6 when Paul unwittingly took up a snake.¹¹⁷ There is no evidence in the literature that the text was taken as a command to take up serpents. However, there are testimonies where persons were accidentally poisoned or bitten by a snake and claimed the promise of the text.¹¹⁸

F. Means of Healing

The Assemblies of God stood in agreement with other Pentecostals in their practices of praying for the sick. James 5 and Mark 16 were seen to

¹⁰⁹ *CE*, (August 22, 1914), p. 4.

¹¹⁰ *WE*, (February 3, 1917), p. 12.

¹¹¹ *WE*, (May 26, 1917), p. 2; *CE*, (July 26, 1919), p. 8.

¹¹² *WE*, (February 10, 1917), pp. 10-11; (January 12, 1918), p. 12.

¹¹³ *WE*, (February 24, 1917), pp. 2-4; (March 10, 1917), p. 5.

¹¹⁴ *WE*, (August 11, 1917), p. 8.

¹¹⁵ *PE*, (January 26, 1924), pp. 4-5.

¹¹⁶ *PE*, (December 13, 1919), p. 5.

¹¹⁷ *CE*, (June 1, 1918), p. 16.

¹¹⁸ *CE*, (May 9, 1914), p. 4; *PE*, (July 28, 1923), p. 8.

provide the basic instruction. Anointing with oil, praying the prayer of faith and laying hands on the sick were the most often used methods. As in the Church of God and the Pentecostal Holiness denominations, ministers and other elders were sent for by those who were sick or by their families in obedience to James 5.¹¹⁹

Also in common with other Pentecostals, the majority of these leaders and readers seemed to believe that the most preferable route toward healing was to trust Jesus alone, and not to use medicines or physicians.¹²⁰ B. F. Lawrence maintained that the world was indebted to the “medical fraternity,” however, “God can still outwork the arm of the flesh.”¹²¹ In fact, medicines and remedies were, according to Florence L. Burpee, “all right for the children of the world, but not for God’s children.”¹²² In the same issue, however, Bell responded that taking medicine should not be called a sin, but could be called a “weakness of faith.”¹²³ In a later issue he warned against making law of practices such as abstaining from all medical treatment.¹²⁴

The very real problem presented by not allowing children to be treated with medicines is also dealt with in the literature. Daisy Mackey of Arkansas states, “The whole country was stirred up, threatened to send my son and myself to jail if we did not call a doctor. We believed God and were willing to bear the persecutions rather than listen to the devil’s howlings.”¹²⁵ In such cases, Bell advised that there were ways of obeying the laws and still refraining from using medicines. He indicates that a chiropractor, if recognized by the state as a doctor, would be allowable because they did not prescribe medicines. In addition, there were other “schools of doctors” who did not advocate the use of “poisonous medicines.”¹²⁶

Many of the testimonies and revival reports printed give evidence that anointed handkerchiefs were in common usage.¹²⁷ Will C. Trotter reports that prayer is offered over handkerchiefs, “even suits of underwear” and

¹¹⁹ See *WW*, (January 20, 1913), p. 3; (November 20, 1913), p. 3; (January 20, 1914), p. 3; (August 1914), p. 2; *CE*, (September 5, 1914), p. 2; (September 12, 1914), p. 2; (October 3, 1914), p. 4, et al.

¹²⁰ See *CE*, (November 14, 1914), p.2; *WE*, (January 20, 1917), p. 16.

¹²¹ *WE*, (January 1, 1916), p. 5.

¹²² *WE*, (January 1, 1916), p. 6.

¹²³ *WE*, (January 1, 1916), p. 8.

¹²⁴ *WE*, (March 31, 1917), p. 9.

¹²⁵ *WE*, (February 3, 1917), p. 15.

¹²⁶ *WE*, (March 31, 1917), p. 9.

¹²⁷ See *WE*, (June 3, 1916), p. 14; (January 27, 1917), p. 16, et al.

“numbers of neckties.”¹²⁸ In addition, in 1916, *The Weekly Evangel* reported that people were being healed by applying the periodical to a sick body. One reader reported that both headache and “heart weakness” were healed through this means. The editors wrote,

We have never claimed that there was any particular virtue in the paper and ink which are used in publishing the Evangel, but we are constantly in receipt of letters similar to that which follows. Some have written us that when the Evangel comes they feel the power of God in it as they open the wrapper, others that they feel the power of God flowing all over their beings as the paper is being read. Others tell of how the Evangel is being used in the salvation of sinners.....Every issue of the Evangel is carefully prepared with prayer, and it is no wonder that the life of faith which is breathed in every issue, found lodgment [sic] in the healing of this sister.¹²⁹

Healings often were reported to take place as the result of other spiritual experiences, such as visions, tongues and interpretation, other manifestations or, as discussed previously, at the time of Spirit baptism.¹³⁰ Many reported sensations during the healing process such as “electrical fire” or “burning flames.”¹³¹

There does seem to be a diversity of opinion in relation to how the prayer of faith is to be prayed. Bell allows that prayer and fasting might be necessary “to chasten us and bring us into a living, vital touch with Him,” though healing has already been provided for in the stripes on Jesus’ back.¹³² As has been discussed some claimed that praying for healing was not necessary once one was Spirit-filled and walking in divine health.¹³³ A reprint of an article from the British publication *Confidence* seems to contradict this view. The article, “What Shall We Preach to the Sick? ‘Grace,’ not Legalism,” warns against attributing all illness to a lack of faith. This attribution, in every case, would be tantamount to introducing “a law,” at the expense of grace. He goes on, “The Bible does not prove that we can pray or believe every sickness away. They that are tied by law in their thoughts on healing by faith would simply storm a Job with prayer meetings in order, by

¹²⁸ *WE*, (May 5, 1917), p. 16.

¹²⁹ *WE*, (April 1, 1916), p. 7. A similar account of this type is reported in the May 12, 1917 issue, p. 6.

¹³⁰ See *WW*, (March 20, 1913), p. 2; *CE*, (Sept. 12, 1914), p. 2; (September 19, 1914), p. 1; *CE*, (February 13, 1915), p. 4; *WE*, (January 13, 1917), p. 14.

¹³¹ See *WW*, (January 20, 1914), p. 3 for example.

¹³² *WE*, (December 9, 1916), p. 9.

¹³³ See above, Chapter 3. Part 3.II.F.

this means, to get rid of the sickness.”¹³⁴

Similarly, there seems to be no consensus on whether healings should always be instantaneous or can be gradual. A Sunday School lesson on Mark 5.21-43, states

Note the word, ‘immediately’ or ‘straightway’ in connection with the miracles of healing by our Lord. One or two instances of gradual healing MIGHT be quoted (Mk. 8:22-26; Lu. 17:14), but the time element in these cases was so brief as not to be worthy of consideration. There is little or no justification in Scripture for the ‘long drawn out’ healings in which nature plays so important a part while the claim is made of being healed by faith in Jesus.¹³⁵

However, the healing in Mark 8.1-9 is considered in the next month’s issue; the writer allows for a healing that is not instantaneous. The teacher encourages the student,

may those who have not yet received perfect healing as they come to the Great Physician be encouraged by this incident, seek ANOTHER TOUCH of those hands, and do not forget to LOOK UP. Get your eyes off of self, the pain, the ache, the weakness, and on to God Himself. There is wonderful power in a look when directed to Him from whom cometh every perfect gift. In our limping and halting, in our partial healings, we do not bring much glory to Jesus, and bear but a poor testimony to others needing healing.¹³⁶

Burt McCafferty finds warrant in James 5 for praying more than once. He sees Elijah as the example of the person who prays the prayer of faith and points out that 1 Kings 18.43-44 states that he had to pray seven times before it rained. He cites this as an example of importunity in prayer.¹³⁷ A morphine addict reports that she was delivered after “Bro. Banta came to see me every day and read and prayed with me.”¹³⁸

After one looks to Jesus for healing, reckoning it done, they are advised not to recognize symptoms or even to “talk over your ailments.” Florence Burpee advises that one “Think health, act health, talk health, and God will see your actions and hear your words and make both true, as you trust in Him.”¹³⁹ If there is a hint that the affliction may be returning, Alice

¹³⁴ WE, (September 15, 1917), p. 5.

¹³⁵ WE, (March 2, 1918), p. 6.

¹³⁶ WE, (April 6, 1918), p. 12.

¹³⁷ WE, (July 21, 1917), p. 5.

¹³⁸ WE, (May 12, 1917), p. 8.

¹³⁹ CE, (February 22, 1919), p. 6. See a similar discussion by Burpee in WW, (October 1915), p. 5.

Reynolds Flower exhorts, "Resist it! Refuse it! His word has gone forth and you may confidently stand upon it."¹⁴⁰ In addition, one should "make permanent the victory God has already done" through praise.¹⁴¹

Apparently taking direction from Acts 3, another frequently adopted methodology was to command a person to be healed, or "to get up and walk in the name of Jesus."¹⁴² This method seems to have been most often employed by the prominent female healing evangelists Marie Woodworth-Etter and Aimee Semple McPherson.

Excursus 3: Women in the Ministry of Healing --The Rise of Itinerant Healing Evangelists

As is apparent, much of the writing and instruction regarding divine healing in the Assemblies of God publications came from the pen of women. Though women held positions of some prominence in the Pentecostal movement as early as the Azusa Street Revival, as has been noted their place within the established denominations has been ambivalent.

In the Assemblies of God their place was uncertain from the beginning. The minutes of the first General Council recognized that while in the "matter of salvation, the lines of sex are blotted out. Gal. 3:28...."Women are commanded to be in subjection and not to usurp authority over the man. I Tim. 2:11-15." However, "They are called to prophesy and preach the Gospel. Acts 2:17" and to be "helpers in the Gospel. Rom. 16:3". Therefore they could be ordained "not as elders, but as Evangelists and Missionaries...."¹⁴³ In 1917, E. N. Bell attempted to explain 1 Cor. 14.34,

The law said to the woman after the fall, 'Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.' Gen. 3;16. Even under grace, the wife is not made the head of the house, nor the ruling elder in the church--no example in the New Testament to this effect. It seems there were some women in the church at Corinth who wanted to take part in the business affairs of the church independent of their husbands, and contrary to the law or work of God. Paul merely meant for these women to stay in the place of subjection to their husbands which God had assigned them.¹⁴⁴

He reiterated his basic view in 1919 but adds,

¹⁴⁰ WE, (March 31, 1917), p. 7.

¹⁴¹ WE, (March 31, 1917), p. 7.

¹⁴² CE, (January 9, 1915), p. 3.

¹⁴³ CE, (November 14, 1914), p. 3.

¹⁴⁴ WE, (May 26, 1917), p. 9.

First, that since the general rule of the Bible is that the husband is the head of the house, both of his grown daughters and of his wife, and women are normally and scripturally subject to the head of the house, just so this same rule obtains in the Church, that elders or pastors are the ordained rulers under the Lord, in God's house, the Church. Second, that in these wrangles and business matters in the church unless it was necessary as an exception to the rule, women should defer to their fathers and husbands when these are saved men, in these matters. The law of God requires this. This does not apply to worship, to prayer, to prophesying, to witnessing, to exhortation, etc. In these women are as free as men. But it is not so ordained in governmental matters in the church.¹⁴⁵

It seems that at least some women did take this freedom seriously. Two, in particular, emerge as healing evangelists in this period. They do not write articles or exhortations for publication in the Assemblies of God periodicals. Instead, the accounts of their dramatic meetings are reported in much detail over a period of several years. They preach to and pray for the masses in tents, churches and city auditoriums. Maria Woodworth-Etter and Aimee Semple McPherson, through their mass evangelism, made a great impact on the healing theology and practice of the Assemblies of God denomination as well as later Pentecostal theology of healing.

Maria Woodworth-Etter

Maria Beulah Woodworth-Etter, had been preaching for thirty-two years when she embraced Pentecostalism in 1912. She had gained national attention by 1885 and her meetings had been marked by charismatic phenomena, such as prophecy, trances and healing well before the 1906 outpouring at Azusa. She had a Brethren and Quaker background, had joined the Churches of God (Winebrenner) but had always maintained a high degree of ecumenism. Her meetings were widely covered in the press and were dramatically described in her work *The Acts of the Holy Ghost*.¹⁴⁶

In 1912, F. F. Bosworth invited Woodworth-Etter to preach at his church in Dallas, Texas. The monumental meeting ran for six months. Faupel sees this meeting as a high-water mark on the road toward the Oneness-Trinitarian debate.¹⁴⁷ E. N. Bell's *Word and Witness* began reporting on the revival as early as August. Bosworth's account, titled "The

¹⁴⁵ CE, (June 14, 1919), p. 5.

¹⁴⁶ W. E. Warner, "Maria Beulah Woodworth-Etter," DPCM, pp. 900-901.

¹⁴⁷ See Faupel, pp. 273 ff.

Wonders of God in Dallas,” reported that thousands were in attendance and that deaf-mutes, paralytics and invalids were being healed. Explicit and descriptive accounts of Woodworth-Etter’s meetings are found consistently throughout the literature from 1912 onward and, in the earlier issues, are often front-page news. On May 19, 1919 Woodworth-Etter invited *The Weekly Evangel* readers to attend the opening and dedication of the Woodworth-Etter Tabernacle in Indianapolis. She wrote, “Everyone who feels in need of spiritual refreshing is invited to attend. It is desired to have a large representative gathering of the Saints, of the spiritually hungry ones, and the afflicted to participate in the dedication and the services which will continue for an indefinite time thereafter.”¹⁴⁸ She anticipated the “seal of God in the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in apostolic power and blessing, with signs following in healing the sick and bringing spiritual life and power to the people.”¹⁴⁹

Upon examination of the accounts it is clear that Woodworth-Etter’s meetings were accompanied by signs and wonders. Fred Lohmann described her preaching in San Antonio: “Sister Etter has preached the old time Gospel, not with inticing [sic] words of man’s wisdom, but in the power and demonstration of the Spirit. She has utterly ignored the ‘Creeds, Theories, and Dogmas of men,’ and held high ‘The Blood Stained Banner of King Emanuel,’ [sic] pointing to the bleeding victim of Golgotha as THE ONLY HOPE OF THE RACE.”¹⁵⁰ A later report of a meeting in Indianapolis reports, “One night Sister Etter and a few of the saints were held like statues for nearly an hour. It seems like as if we could never dismiss the meeting, the power of God was so great.”¹⁵¹

Testimonies describe the results of having Woodworth-Etter anoint handkerchiefs on behalf of the sick.¹⁵² Apparently, she also sent out “anointed cloths” as well¹⁵³ [a practice that would be commonplace among later healing evangelists]. Through imposition of hands many were reportedly healed;¹⁵⁴ in cases where the numbers were too great for one

¹⁴⁸ WE, (May 4, 1918), p. 15.

¹⁴⁹ WE, (May 4, 1918), p. 15.

¹⁵⁰ WW, (February 20, 1913), p. 1.

¹⁵¹ WE, (August 18, 1917), p. 16.

¹⁵² WW, (March 20, 1913), p. 3; CE, (March 28, 1914), p. 8; WE, (January 6, 1917), p. 15. WE, (March 24, 1917), p. 15.

¹⁵³ WE, (July 7, 1917), p. 13; PE, (July 10, 1920), p. 7.

¹⁵⁴ WW, (August 20, 1913), p. 1.

person to pray for by imposition of hands, Woodworth-Etter would have ministers present to assist her or by stretching her hands over the people while praying for them.¹⁵⁵ Others were healed after being “slain in the Spirit,”¹⁵⁶ a term used to describe the experience of those who temporarily lost consciousness after being prayed for.

Perhaps most characteristic of Woodworth-Etter’s healing practice was the use of verbal command. She reportedly “rebuked the spirit of infirmity in Jesus’ name” and commanded the paralytic or lame person to rise and walk or “stretch forth’ the paralyzed arm.¹⁵⁷ Cancer was “rebuked in the name of Jesus.”¹⁵⁸ Frodsham’s account of the Dallas meeting included this analysis: “We noticed that in almost every case Sister Etter dealt with the disease as if she was dealing with the devil himself.”¹⁵⁹

Woodworth-Etter’s understanding of the healing ministry seems to be tied to a kind of power encounter theology, what Kydd has called a “confrontational model.”¹⁶⁰ Sickness or affliction is a manifestation of demonic power and the healing minister is to exercise authority over it. This very focused and limited view of the origin of illness no doubt had profound effects on the theology of readers of the Assemblies of God literature and on those who attended the meetings which were endorsed by the Assemblies of God leadership.

Aimee Semple McPherson

Toward the end of Woodworth-Etter’s ministry, another woman emerged as a leading proponent of healing ministry and with results which were, perhaps, even more sensational. The Canadian born preacher, whose first husband had died shortly after their arrival as missionaries in China, would become one of the most controversial figures in Pentecostal history.¹⁶¹ With a Salvation Army background, and obviously influenced by the dramatic preaching style of General Evangeline Booth, Aimee Semple McPherson

¹⁵⁵ WW, (August 20, 1913).

¹⁵⁶ WW, (January 20, 1913), p. 1; (August 20, 1913), p. 1.

¹⁵⁷ See WW, (August 20, 1912), p. 3; (January 20, 1913), p. 1, 4; (February 20, 1913), p. 1; (March 20, 1913), p. 3; (August 20, 1913), p. 1.

¹⁵⁸ WE, (March 24, 1917), p. 15.

¹⁵⁹ WW, (January 20, 1913), p. 1.

¹⁶⁰ See R. Kydd.

¹⁶¹ See biographies by Blumhoffer and Epstein.

captured the heart of the finished work Pentecostals and later, America.¹⁶²

While married to her second husband, Harold S. McPherson, the first account of her ministry appeared in *The Weekly Evangel*.¹⁶³ The account describes a 1917 meeting held in Jacksonville, Florida where sixty were saved, some baptized in the Holy Spirit and several healed.

In 1919, Aimee Semple McPherson was ordained an evangelist in the Assemblies of God.¹⁶⁴ Accounts of the mass meetings held by McPherson in cities throughout the midwest were published in the following years. In 1920, she preached at a “Divine Healing Service” at the meeting of the General Council of the Assemblies of God.

McPherson’s meetings were attended by masses of people. In Piedmont, West Virginia it was estimated that at least 2,500 people were in attendance in one service with “thousands on the outside.”¹⁶⁵ Crowds of those who could not get into the meetings waited on the sidewalks and healings reportedly occurred there.¹⁶⁶ In one location those who could not get in the auditorium climbed on the roof and watched the service through windows and vents.¹⁶⁷

McPherson’s sermons focused on familiar Pentecostal themes: baptism in the Spirit, gifts and fruit of the Spirit, divine healing and the second coming of Jesus. Crowds responded by crying, laughing, shouting and coming forward to pray for salvation or to be prayed for by McPherson. Ministers who observed her were impressed with the fact that she placed salvation of souls as the priority. Frodsham, in a defence of her ministry, called it a balanced one. “But the salvation of souls has first place, and just as her Lord in the case of healing of the man sick of the palsy saw to it that first he received the forgiveness of sins, Sister McPherson insists that all who seek relief from bodily ailments, first seek a real experience of heart cleansing” [sic].¹⁶⁸ An editor of the United Brethren periodical *The Religious*

¹⁶² She had been ordained by William H. Durham in 1909. There are references to “Brother and Sister Semple” who ministered alongside Durham in his Canadian evangelistic tour in *PT*, 1.5 (July 1, 1910), pp. 5, 6.

¹⁶³ *WE*, (February 24, 1917), p. 16.

¹⁶⁴ C. M. Roebeck, Jr. “Aimee Semple McPherson,” *DPCM*, pp. 568-571. She would later divorce McPherson and relinquish her credentials over the divorce and a church property disagreement.

¹⁶⁵ *PE*, (November 27, 1920), p. 3.

¹⁶⁶ *PE*, (May 29, 1920), p. 8.

¹⁶⁷ *PE*, (November 27, 1920), p. 3.

¹⁶⁸ *PE*, (July 24, 1920), p. 8.

Telescope also observed this in West Virginia. He quotes her, “ ‘I would not ask the Lord to be my physician,’ she says, ‘until I accept Him as my Saviour.’”¹⁶⁹

McPherson emphasized that faith was the key to healing. At the Assemblies of God General Council in 1920 she preached that only “active faith” could “ensure absolute deliverance.”¹⁷⁰ She also believed that an “immediate transformation” in the state of health was a miracle. Healing could also be a “ ‘process which will manifest itself by gradual disappearance of the affliction immediately following the utterance of prayer.’”¹⁷¹ Reports of healings in both categories are found.¹⁷²

Traditional methods and means were used by McPherson. She anointed the sick with oil.¹⁷³ Seekers came forward to the altar¹⁷⁴ or to the platform.¹⁷⁵ When the crowds were exceptionally large she would offer prayer for all who had come forward. This was the case in one of the services in Dayton, Ohio. The observer writes, “Mrs. McPherson, leading in prayer, asked everyone to place implicit faith in the Lord and all who suffered would be healed.”¹⁷⁶

Like Woodworth-Etter, McPherson commanded the sick to be healed. In Dayton, Ohio, McPherson prayed for a woman who had been an invalid for two and a half years and who had been brought to the meeting in “an invalid chair.” “Mrs. McPherson went to the invalid woman, and rubbing oil on her forehead, said: ‘Have you faith in Jesus Christ? Do you believe He can heal you now?’ Answering in the affirmative to all the questions of the evangelist the two bowed their heads in prayer. ‘In the name of Jesus I command you to get up and walk,’ she said.”¹⁷⁷ Another report of the same meeting reveals that McPherson believed that at least some illnesses were attributable to spirits. After praying for a deaf man, McPherson spoke into the man’s ear: “Oh, thou deaf spirit, in the name of Jesus, I command you, come out of him.

¹⁶⁹ *PE*, (July 24, 1920), p. 11.

¹⁷⁰ *PE*, (October 16, 1920), p. 4.

¹⁷¹ *PE*, (May 29, 1920), p. 9.

¹⁷² See *PE*, (May 29, 1920), pp. 8, 9; (July 24, 1920), pp. 10,11; (October 16, 1920), p. 4; (November 27, 1920), pp. 2, 3.

¹⁷³ *PE*, (May 29, 1920), p. 8.

¹⁷⁴ *PE*, (May 29, 1920), p. 9.

¹⁷⁵ *PE*, (May 29, 1920), pp. 8, 9; (July 24, 1920), p. 10,11; (October 14, 1920), p. 4.

¹⁷⁶ *PE*, (May 29, 1920), p. 8.

¹⁷⁷ *PE*, (May 29, 1920), p. 8.

O, ear be opened and receive your healing.”¹⁷⁸ Despite this rather direct methodology, an observer of a revival in Washington, D. C. commented, “The driving method sometimes used by evangelists is entirely absent in her procedure, but the presence and charm of the Holy Spirit is manifest in her words and actions.”¹⁷⁹

An innovative method employed by McPherson was the use of survey cards. In Dayton, before the meeting began, more than five hundred cards were distributed to the sick. The purpose was stated: “These were to be taken up by numbers to avoid confusion and to give the weaker ones a fair chance to be prayed with.”¹⁸⁰ In Dayton “about two thousand cards were issued,” and for one afternoon service “fourteen hundred chairs were reserved for sufferers.” In addition, according to the report “Every ambulance in Dayton was employed in bringing the helpless--and then the horses [sic] were pressed into the same kind of service.”¹⁸¹ This kind of intentionality in planning reflects the level of expectation on the part of McPherson and her supporters. It also indicates that she saw herself as a healing evangelist, though she reportedly disclaimed “any personal power to heal.”¹⁸²

It is clear that by 1920, the Assemblies of God had witnessed the rise of the healing evangelist with mass appeal. It is also clear that women in particular had found a place of ministry and acceptance in this arena, though they could not easily find a place in pastoral ministry within the organization. Like Etter, McPherson eventually founded her own church, becoming its pastor, though independent of the Assemblies of God organization.¹⁸³

III. Healing Theology and Practice in Oneness Pentecostalism

A. History of Oneness Pentecostalism

In the years following William Durham’s initial introduction of the “Finished Work” soteriology into Pentecostalism there was a fast and furious evangelization of the message. Durham’s collapsing of the crisis point of sanctification into the moment of justification and regeneration spread

¹⁷⁸ *PE*, (May 29, 1920), p. 9.

¹⁷⁹ *PE*, (May 29, 1920), p. 9.

¹⁸⁰ *PE*, (May 29, 1920), p. 8.

¹⁸¹ *PE*, (July 24, 1920), p. 11.

¹⁸² *PE*, (July 24, 1920), p. 11.

¹⁸³ McPherson eventually founded the Foursquare Gospel denomination.

sanctification into the moment of justification and regeneration spread throughout Pentecostal ranks with amazing energy. Even with the staunch rejection of the doctrine by the leaders of Azusa Street, Seymour and Florence Crawford, the “new revelation” as expounded by Durham was widely received. Pentecostal leaders recanted their own earlier testimonies in which they had testified to a second definite work of sanctification and preached and published this “new truth” which they hailed as the “true Gospel.” F. J. Ewart saw this revelation as the new “plank” in the “Apostolic Faith platform” which had been “in the process of construction.” The other planks were “the Baptism of the Holy Ghost,” “Divine healing,” “baptism by immersion,” and “the ‘pre-millennial coming of the Lord.’” He announced, “A deadly blow has been dealt to the crumbling unscriptural plank of a ‘second, definite work of grace.’”¹⁸⁴

Faupel has shown that as a result of the shining of this “true light”¹⁸⁵ and its accompanying focus on the person and work of Jesus, expectation levels ran high that more of this true light would be shown and in all likelihood it would be shown at the World Wide Pentecostal Camp Meeting in Los Angeles in April 1913.¹⁸⁶ In a sermon preached at that meeting, Canadian Robert E. McAlister, editor and publisher of *The Good Report* and a former Presbyterian, commented that in the book of Acts, it seemed that the early church baptized “‘in the name of Jesus’ rather than in the name of the trinity,” the formula indicated in Matthew 28.¹⁸⁷ One hearer, John G. Scheppe, was intrigued by McAlister’s suggestion and, after an all-night prayer vigil, reportedly received a new revelation that true believers should be rebaptized in the name of Jesus.¹⁸⁸ He claimed to have been “‘given a glimpse of the power of the name of Jesus.’” There followed a camp-wide searching of the

¹⁸⁴ F. J. Ewart, “Defending Heresies”, *The Good Report* 1.3 (1912), p. 12. Ewart understood this “Pentecostal platform” to have been given to Peter, who on the day of Pentecost, “used the keys and opened the door into the present dispensation” (p. 12). This idea of Peter’s use of the keys is picked up later, by Andrew Urshan, after his conversion to Oneness theology, in “The New Testament Teaching on the New Birth.” See Urshan, “The New Testament Teaching on the New Birth, in Dayton, Donald W., *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, in Donald W. Dayton, ed. *“The Higher Christian Life”--Sources for the Study of the Holiness, Pentecostal, and Keswick Movements* series (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1985), p. 25.

¹⁸⁵ Ewart, *The Good Report*, p. 12.

¹⁸⁶ See Faupel, pp. 275-281.

¹⁸⁷ Donald W. Dayton, “Preface” in *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. vii. See also Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, pp. 156-164. The most comprehensive study of the Oneness tradition is David A. Reed, *Origins and Development of the Theology of Oneness Pentecostalism in the United States* (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1978).

¹⁸⁸ Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. vii.

and already a contributor to McAlister's publication, was deeply impressed by this new revelation. After a year of study and formulation of the new "plank" he preached his first " 'Jesus Name' sermon" outside of Los Angeles in 1914.¹⁸⁹ The theology became known as the "new issue" and dealt another fragmenting blow to the young movement.

Faupel suggests that this "new issue" began as a consideration of a new baptismal formula, then a contemplation on the name of Jesus, followed by a reformulating of the understanding of the Godhead.¹⁹⁰ The orthodox understanding of the Trinity was rejected in favor of a unipersonal understanding of God, "in which the whole Godhead was understood to have found expression in Jesus."¹⁹¹ A new soteriology quickly emerged which saw Acts 2.38 as *the* paradigm for salvation experience. This paradigm saw repentance, baptism in the name of Jesus, and reception of the Holy Spirit as programmatic.¹⁹² The "Apostolic" designation which had been used at Azusa Street as a description of the whole Pentecostal movement was adopted by the Oneness movement "to express its claim to have rediscovered the genuine apostolic Christianity that predates the 'apostasy' of mainstream Christianity and its 'fall' into a form of polytheism."¹⁹³ Ewart understood the terms *Father* and *Holy Spirit* as designations of the various aspects of Christ's person.¹⁹⁴ As Scheppe had proclaimed in 1913, baptism in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit was a pseudo-baptism and believers must be baptized in the name of Jesus. He further collapsed the experiences of the *ordo salutis* by seeing regeneration, sanctification and Spirit baptism as one event, and that being received in water baptism by immersion in Jesus' name. Further, speaking in tongues was essential to the experience.

Glenn A. Cook, who had taken the Azusa Street message to Mason's

¹⁸⁹ Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, pp. 156-157.

¹⁹⁰ Faupel, p. 281.

¹⁹¹ Dayton, *Seven "Jesus Only" Tracts*, pp. vii.

¹⁹² The seeds of this new understanding of salvation had been sown by Durham and his immediate followers. Durham writes of Acts 2.38, "But the rule laid down by Peter on the day of Pentecost is continually followed, both in teaching and practice" [*PT*, 2.1 (January 1912), p. 3]. By January of 1912 Durham had changed the masthead of his publication, *Pentecostal Testimony*, to include Acts 2.38. Previously the masthead had proclaimed Acts 2.4. See *PT*, 1.5 (July 1, 1910) and 2.1 (January 1912).

¹⁹³ Dayton, *Seven "Jesus Only" Tracts*, p. vii.

¹⁹⁴ Urshan's explanation in "The Essentiality of Water Baptism" is that The Holy Spirit is "the Lord-Jesus-Christ for this dispensation" (Dayton, *Seven "Jesus Only" Tracts*, p. 33). This understanding of a unipersonal God is designated by Oneness scholar Talmadge L. French as 'simultaneous modalism.' Talmadge L. French, *Our God Is One*, (Indianapolis: Voice and Vision, 1999), p. 15.

followers in Memphis, was one of the first to submit to rebaptism in Jesus' name. Ewart and Cook rebaptized themselves in April of 1914 and began spreading the Oneness message with the same zeal with which Durham's message had been spread. By 1915, some leaders in the newly formed Assemblies of God had been rebaptized. One of the most significant conversions was of the African-American pastor of a large congregation associated with the Assemblies of God in Indianapolis, Garfield T. Haywood. Shortly thereafter, E. N. Bell, then head of the denomination and H. C. Rodgers and H. H. Goss were rebaptized. In October 1916, the General Council of the Assemblies of God met and settled the doctrinal issue once and for all. Flower, Welch and Pinson argued persuasively for the Trinitarian position, eventually winning over Bell. Over 100 congregations and 156 out of 585 preachers were lost to the Oneness movement.¹⁹⁵ Haywood went on to found a Oneness denomination, the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, headquartered at his own church in Indianapolis.

Because the Oneness theology was a derivation of the Finished Work theology, the "new issue" gained little ground in the Southeastern United States where the Wesleyan-Pentecostal soteriology still dominated in the Churches of God, Churches of God in Christ and Pentecostal Holiness Churches.

Along with Haywood and Ewart, the Persian-born Andrew bar David Urshan, a former Assemblies of God minister, wrote prolifically, formulating a whole new body of doctrine. However, the majority of the writings by these early leaders, whether tracts or sermons, fall into the genre of either apologetic or polemic, focusing on the importance of The Name and baptism in The Name. Healing is mentioned and seems to be an understood doctrine, though little is written of its relation to The Name, or its place in the movement's soteriology. Owing to the apologetic nature of the primary literature there are less explicit statements about healing as such than in the other streams of the tradition. Therefore, one is forced to look for clues which aid the interpreter in analyzing Oneness healing theology and practice.

Though healing theology and practice are referred to infrequently in the early writings by the founders of the movement, fortunately, additional insights may be found in the writings of Mattie Crawford, a female evangelist whose base of operation was Los Angeles, California. Crawford, who had

¹⁹⁵ Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*, 158-160.

been raised as a Catholic, testifies of her own conversion and simultaneous healing in *The Story of My Life*.¹⁹⁶ Crawford writes that she had suffered from nervous prostration, diabetes and paralysis below the waist.¹⁹⁷ While attending a Protestant church revival, Crawford began to feel conviction as well as a desire to serve God. At the same time, she experienced a gradual strengthening of her body. Finally, Crawford, her husband and child experienced a definite conversion experience at an altar. Crawford writes that she “passed from death unto life that night.” In that same evening she preached, testifying of her salvation and healing. She also writes of laying “for hours before the chancel rail ‘under the power’” and receiving a vision of heaven and hearing a call to “preach the Gospel to all nations, and to heal the sick.”¹⁹⁸ Later, after moving to Los Angeles, she came in contact with a Pentecostal mission, became convinced of the necessity of being baptized in the name of Jesus¹⁹⁹ and was baptized in the Holy Ghost, speaking in “about fifteen different languages.”²⁰⁰

Crawford and her husband, felt a call to missions and eventually traveled through Central America, preaching salvation and healing.²⁰¹ Crawford claimed to have seen over 25,000 healed in her ministry.²⁰² She published numerous tracts, sermons and small books on healing as well as a monthly journal, *God’s Hospital*.²⁰³ In addition, Crawford edited *The Pentecostal Flame*, a “song book” containing over two hundred songs “on Salvation, Baptism of the Holy Spirit, the Second Coming, and the Deity of Jesus.”²⁰⁴ The book also contained several songs related to healing.

¹⁹⁶ Mattie Crawford, *The Story of My Life*, Revised Edition (Los Angeles, California: Mattie Crawford, 1923).

¹⁹⁷ Crawford, p. 28.

¹⁹⁸ Crawford, pp. 30-37.

¹⁹⁹ Crawford, p. 58.

²⁰⁰ Crawford, p. 63.

²⁰¹ These experiences are chronicled in *On Mule Back thru Central America with the Gospel* (Los Angeles, California: Mattie Crawford, n.d.).

²⁰² Crawford, *Discourses on Divine Healing* (Los Angeles, California: Mattie Crawford, n.d.), p. 85.

²⁰³ *God’s Hospital* is advertised in *The Story of My Life* (no page number) as being available at a subscription rate of \$2.00 per year. It was “devoted to spreading the full Gospel of Jesus Christ, including Divine Healing, with testimonies of miraculous healings each month, and the reporting of the editor’s evangelistic meetings over the country.” Copies of this journal do not appear to be extant.

²⁰⁴ Crawford, *The Story of My Life*, no page number.

B. The Origins of Illness and its Remedy in the Atonement

In a sermon titled “The Allegory in the Book of Job” Haywood weaves an interesting story about the Fall, the entrance of sin in the world and redemption. The source of “sin and violence” is Satan, and this spread throughout humanity, typified by Job. He writes, “The human family was full of ‘wounds, and bruises, and putrifying [sic] sores’; the whole head was sick and the whole heart was faint. From the sole of the foot even to the head, there was no soundness in it.’ (Isaiah 1:5,6).”²⁰⁵ Though he speaks generally of illness, in all probability, Haywood, like other Pentecostals, understood Satan and the Fall to be the source of sickness and disease.

Crawford concurs that sickness is a result of the Fall. In an allegorization of the story found in Luke 10.30-35, titled “The Good Samaritan and the Two Pence,” Crawford sees the traveler as fallen humanity

What a picture this is of the entire human family, which left their place of peace and happiness, where God, their Father, had placed them, and WENT DOWN.

He passed out thru the gates of the beautiful City of Peace, going DOWN that long, dark, robber-infested road, and FELL among thieves, who STRIPPED him of HIS RAIMENT.

In like manner, when our father Adam FELL, the same old tempter, Satan, who had told him he should not die, and who caused him to disobey God’s precious Word, stripped him of his robe of righteousness, which God had given him, and wounded him. Oh, the deep cankerous, sin-cut wounds, which were made deep into his poor heart and body! How sad and deplorable was his condition.²⁰⁶

Crawford proceeds to explain that the “curse of the law” which Paul refers to in Galatians 3.13, 14 is sickness and death.²⁰⁷ She also references John 5.1-15 as warrant for a conclusion that sickness is the result of sin and many are “self-procured--the immediate result of dissipation and vice.”²⁰⁸ She further concludes that sickness may return to those who discontinue their walk with the Lord.²⁰⁹ Crawford actually testifies that her own illnesses and weaknesses began to return when she refused to heed the call to leave

²⁰⁵ Haywood, “Allegory in Job” in Dayton, p. 22.

²⁰⁶ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 12.

²⁰⁷ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 75.

²⁰⁸ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 28.

²⁰⁹ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 29.

home and preach.²¹⁰ Similarly, Crawford contended that one could be healed but not ever come to realize the healing because they have not been “loosed from their old habits of bondage” to Satan.²¹¹

Having previously been a major proponent of the Finished Work of Calvary doctrine, Ewart holds a high view of the work of Christ on the Cross. He writes, “The cross of Calvary was no after-thought with God. Christ was the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.” He continues to explain Christ’s role both as sacrifice and priest, even in the forgiving of the sins of the penitent thief. Ewart connects the story of the healing of the man with palsy and Jesus’ forgiveness of the man’s sin with the cross. This forgiving of sin was the proof of Jesus’ deity.²¹² For Haywood, the solution was to be found in the “ ‘daysman’ or Mediator between God and man” whom Haywood sees typified in Elihu.²¹³

Haywood emphasizes the special significance of the blood of Jesus, arguing that “To be saved by water baptism, it must be administered in the name of Jesus, for there is ‘no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.’ The life of the Blood of Christ is connected with baptism when it is administered in His Name. It is not by water only, but by water and blood, and the blood is in His name. (See Acts 5:28).”²¹⁴ He further emphasizes the importance of the blood of Jesus in his sermon “The Message of Hope.” He connects Jesus’ words, “ ‘For this is My blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins’” with Peter’s sermon in Acts 2 when he exhorts: “ ‘Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.’”²¹⁵ By combining these two statements, Haywood builds the case for the necessity of the Blood and baptism in the Name for the remission of sin and the accompanying gift of baptism in the Holy Ghost.²¹⁶

Urshan echoes this dynamic relationship between water, blood and Spirit. He saw the three keys held by Peter and those in the apostolic

²¹⁰ Crawford, *My Life*, p. 43.

²¹¹ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 45.

²¹² Ewart, “Prerogatives of the Deity” in Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. 23.

²¹³ Haywood, “Allegory in Job” in Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. 23.

²¹⁴ Haywood, “Baptism From Apostolic Point of View” in Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. 33.

²¹⁵ Haywood, “Message of Hope” in Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. 45.

²¹⁶ Haywood, “Message of Hope” in Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. 45.

tradition as Word (“which contains the blood of the atonement through the crucifixion”), water baptism and the Spirit (“which is the resurrection and brings us into the Kingdom of God and God as the King into our lives”). He cites 1 John 5.6 as support for this interpretation.²¹⁷

Haywood says that because of the suffering and death of Jesus, one may have “His life and joy.” He goes so far as to say, “He bore all my pains and gave me His health.”²¹⁸

Though doctrinal statements which specifically place healing in the atonement are not found,²¹⁹ the connection can be assumed because of the statements which link healing to the Name. For Oneness Pentecostals, Blood and Name are inseparable.²²⁰

Crawford’s discussions of healing and the atonement are more straightforward. She emphasizes the atoning work of Jesus in her allegory of the Good Samaritan. She weaves the Isaiah 53 poetry into the story seeing the “CERTAIN Samaritan” who is “despised and rejected by men” as Jesus.²²¹ The atonement is seen as resulting in the “DOUBLE-CURE, for soul and body, from sin and sickness.” This is typified in the oil [the Holy Spirit, the healing element for the soul] and the wine [broken body of Jesus, curiously not the blood of Jesus, for the healing of the body] which is poured into the wounds of the traveler in Luke 10.²²² The two pence given to the innkeeper by the Samaritan represent healing for soul and body.²²³ To discern the Lord’s body properly is to understand that the broken body of the Lord provides healing for the body, the second of the benefits listed in Psalm 103:2-5.²²⁴

Crawford goes so far as to contend that one may “claim exemption” from the curse of the law [sickness and death] on the ground of God’s grace through the finished work of Jesus Christ.²²⁵ The provision is for “health of the

²¹⁷ Urshan, “The New Testament Teaching on the New Birth” in Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. 25.

²¹⁸ Haywood, “The Hiding Place from the Wind” in Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. 65.

²¹⁹ Statements specifically linking healing to the atonement are found in McAlister’s *The Good Report*, a predecessor to the Oneness publications, and to which Ewart and Urshan contributed. 1.2 (1912), p. 5.

²²⁰ Haywood, “Baptism From Apostolic Point of View” in Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. 33.

²²¹ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 14.

²²² Crawford, *Discourses*, pp. 15, 16.

²²³ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 16.

²²⁴ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 21.

²²⁵ Crawford, *Discourses*, pp. 71 and 76.

body as well as for the healing of your soul....”²²⁶

C. Healing in the Name of Jesus

What a mighty awakening it would be if only a company of spirit-filled people was to march through this afflicted world and heal them in the name of Jesus! [sic]²²⁷

As would be expected in Oneness theology, healing is most often linked to the Name of Jesus. However, there is little explanation given as to *how* healing is linked to the name of Jesus. The connections must be teased out.

Urshan cites the commissions of Jesus to his disciples, offering commentary along the way: “ ‘Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel (of he Kingdom) [sic] to every creature (every Person). He that believeth, AND IS BAPTIZED, shall be saved, but he that believeth not (of course needs not to be baptised [sic]) shall be damned; and these signs (the wonderful operations of the Holy Spirit) shall follow them that believe (of course being baptised [sic] also) IN MY NAME, etc.” He concludes, “Here again, the Water of Baptism and the Holy Spirit’s Power casting out Devils, causing believers to speak with other Tongues, healing the sick, etc., etc., are in connection, and that in the Name of the Lord Jesus.”²²⁸

As example of the connection of these signs to the Name, Urshan offers the example of Philip in Samaria, who, among other things, is able to “heal the lame and blind, turning the whole town toward the Lord and baptising [sic] hundreds into the Name of Christ Jesus.”²²⁹

Ewart argues that in the book of Acts all praying for the sick is in the

²²⁶ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 21. Note Crawford’s use of the term “Double Cure” to refer to regeneration and healing. The term had been used in Holiness circles to refer to Justification/Regeneration and Sanctification.

²²⁷ Haywood, “The Glory of the Son of Man” in Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. 36.

²²⁸ Urshan, “The New Testament Teaching on the New Birth” in Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. 22.

²²⁹ Urshan, “The New Testament Teaching on the New Birth” in Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. 24. He goes on, however, to explain that Philip was not able to “get his Samaritan converts through the baptism of the Holy Spirit” because “the keys of the kingdom to enter in were in the hands of Peter.” Therefore, Peter and John had to lay hands on the Samaritan believers. This, oddly enough, seems to go against Oneness soteriology.

Name of Jesus.²³⁰ The apostles did what Jesus had commanded and what Paul further commanded in Colossians 3.17, “And whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by Him.”²³¹ Crawford contends that, with faith, “signs and wonders would be done in the Name of the holy child, Jesus.”²³²

Haywood exhorts that “ ‘The Name of the Lord is a strong tower into which the righteous runneth and is safe.’ ” He reminds the reader that the sick should run to this tower, this “mysterious abiding place,” thereby being safe from plagues.²³³

A clue to the significance of the Name for Oneness adherents may be found in Haywood’s chorus “Do All in Jesus Name”:

Preach in Jesus’ Name, Teach in Jesus’ Name
Heal the sick in His Name
And always proclaim, it was Jesus’ Name
In which the power cam; [sic]
Baptize in His Name, enduring the shame,
For there is victory in Jesus’ Name.²³⁴

In another song, “These Signs Shall Follow Them,” Haywood sees the signs of Mark 16 as being confirmation of the gospel that is preached by those who believe upon the name.²³⁵

It seems that victory and healing are to be found because of the *power* which comes in the Name.

D. Healing Through the Power of God

In Oneness literature the movement of the Spirit in worship services is often referred to as the falling or rain of *the power of God*.²³⁶ It is this power which is understood to save and to keep the man or woman in that

²³⁰ Oneness theology rejects outright that the idea of baptizing into the name of Jesus in Acts should be interpreted as in the authority of Jesus’ name, preferring to insist that the apostolic formula is given in the book of Acts, i.e. - “in the name of Jesus.” See Ewart, “The Revelation of Jesus Christ” in Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. 20.

²³¹ Ewart, “The Revelation of Jesus Christ” in Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. 21.

²³² Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 62.

²³³ Haywood, “Hiding Place from the Wind” in Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. 63.

²³⁴ Paul D. Dugas, ed. *The Life and Writings of Elder G. T. Haywood* (Portland, Oregon: Apostolic Book Publishers, 1984), p. 22.

²³⁵ Haywood, “These Signs Shall Follow Them” in Crawford, ed., *The Pentecostal Flame: The Crawford Revival Special* (Los Angeles, California: Mattie Crawford, n.d.), p. 88.

²³⁶ See for example the story of Haywood’s conversion in Dugas, *Life and Writings*, pp. 10-11; see also the multiple references to the falling of the “power of God” in *The Good Report* 1.2 (1912), pp. 1, 5, 6 and 11.

salvation.²³⁷ Haywood contrasts this power with “the power of the pride of life, the lusts of the eye, and the lusts of the flesh.”²³⁸ Belief in the Gospel brings this saving and keeping power.

In “God’s Masterpiece” Haywood gives further illumination to the role of the Spirit: “When the soul is cleansed the Holy Spirit comes in to help the spirit to place new records on the soul, that the body might perform the will of God, walking in the newness of life. Through the Holy Spirit He will ‘put My laws in their minds (spirit), and write them upon their hearts (soul).”²³⁹

The life of the believer is hidden in Christ because the believer has been “ ‘buried with Him by baptism into His death.’” Therefore, the baptized Christian is “quickened by the life (the Holy Ghost) which is in Christ Jesus, for the Scriptures saith, ‘In Him is life,’ and ‘life more abundant.’”²⁴⁰ It is in this context that Haywood makes his statement about having Jesus’ health. Crawford, too, sees health as the result of “the richness of Christ’s own life flowing thru our mortal bodies!”²⁴¹ Like Mary and Martha, one must hear the message of life. The restoration which has come through the Pentecostal revival is a restoration to this resurrection life²⁴² and to signs and wonders.²⁴³

E. Healing by Faith

From Crawford’s writings it is evident that she understands faith to be instrumental in appropriating the atoning work for healing. This faith is a gift of God which is “dropped in” [to the heart of a believer] and causes mountains to be moved, barrenness to be cursed and is able to “drive from the Temple (body) all sickness and disease.”²⁴⁴ Crawford can speak of it as actively climbing over obstacles and reaching out²⁴⁵ or resting.²⁴⁶

F. Means of Healing

Though no insights regarding the practice of healing are to be found in the writings of Ewart or Urshan, a song by Haywood, “These Signs Shall

²³⁷ Haywood, “Message of Hope” in Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, pp. 48-50.

²³⁸ Haywood, “Message of Hope” in Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. 50.

²³⁹ Haywood, “God’s Masterpiece” in Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. 29.

²⁴⁰ Haywood, “Hiding Place from the Wind” in Dayton, *Seven “Jesus Only” Tracts*, p. 67.

²⁴¹ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 17.

²⁴² Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 37.

²⁴³ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 70.

²⁴⁴ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 50.

²⁴⁵ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 63.

²⁴⁶ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 61.

Follow Them” reveals that he practiced anointing with oil in ministry to the sick.²⁴⁷ However, Crawford’s works provide interesting accounts of her ministry of healing.

Most interesting is her insistence that one must first be “cleansed from all sin, malice, enmity, and strife.”²⁴⁸ John Zobonich, a deaf mute, writes that Crawford exhorted his mother that they must both come to her meetings and get their “hearts right with God” before she would pray for his healing.²⁴⁹ Following Oneness theology, Charles Heller writes that he accepted Jesus as saviour and was then baptized in Lake Michigan. He was then anointed²⁵⁰ by Crawford who also laid her hands on his head. At this time he felt the power of God move through his body.²⁵¹

Like Palmer’s altar theology, Crawford insisted the sick person must exhibit a “determination to obey,” acting upon his/her faith. This putting faith into action would bring about a manifestation.²⁵² A song written by Thoro Harris and published in *The Pentecostal Flame* echoes this “shorter way” to healing: “Fully believing we ask not a sign--Faith claims the promise divine.”²⁵³ Crawford would ask the person to put down crutches and walk²⁵⁴ or lift a crippled foot.²⁵⁵ For some the healing was instantaneous,²⁵⁶ as they felt the power of God move through their bodies²⁵⁷ while for others, the healing was gradual. Mrs. A. M. Knutson testified of receiving her eyesight as she walked home from a Crawford meeting.²⁵⁸

The Zabonich account also includes a description of a Crawford service where

hundreds saw Jesus walking by Mrs. Crawford’s side as she anointed and prayed for the sick. That night everyone she prayed for was healed. Some rose from their beds and invalid chairs and danced and shouted for joy. Others were healed sitting in their seats, as the

²⁴⁷ Haywood, “These Signs Shall Follow” (1914) in Crawford, ed., *The Pentecostal Flame* p. 88.

²⁴⁸ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 82.

²⁴⁹ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 94.

²⁵⁰ Presumably this was an anointing with oil. See also the account of the healing of ten year old Eleanor Rhoads of “double curvature of the spine.” Rhoads was taken to the stage, anointed and prayed for by Crawford. *Discourses*, p. 97.

²⁵¹ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 101.

²⁵² Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 84.

²⁵³ Thoro Harris, “Our Healer” (1922) in Crawford, ed., *The Pentecostal Flame* , p. 60.

²⁵⁴ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 52.

²⁵⁵ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 103.

²⁵⁶ See Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 99, 100 and 108.

²⁵⁷ See *Discourses*, pages 94 and 101.

²⁵⁸ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 98.

Word of power went forth.²⁵⁹

Crawford apparently believed that not only could people be healed as the spoken word was preached but also as believers in prisons or hospitals read the words she had written.²⁶⁰

Crawford took a moderate stance with regard to the use of medicines or doctors. She instructed that one must obey the laws of the land so it was necessary to obey quarantine laws and to consult with a doctor so that a death certificate might be obtained. Apparently she felt that there should be a friendly relationship where possible between doctors and those who adhered to belief in divine healing. Doctors were necessary for those who did not have faith. However, “poisonous drugs and unnecessary surgical operations” brought about “great bondage.” Haywood’s song published in Crawford’s song book refers to medicine as “deadly drugs” which along with deadly doctrines could not prevail against Christ.²⁶¹ Crawford was adamant, however, that God should be the physician for His people.²⁶²

²⁵⁹ Crawford, *Discourses*, p. 95.

²⁶⁰ Crawford “Introduction” in *Discourses*, p. 5.

²⁶¹ Haywood, “These Signs Shall Follow Them” in Crawford *The Pentecostal Flame*, p. 88.

²⁶² Crawford, *Discourses*, pp. 87-89.

Chapter 4 - Two Models: Early Pentecostal Theologies of Healing

Introduction --

The preceding chapter has analyzed periodical literature from what is widely perceived to be the same revival movement, that is early North American Pentecostalism. The analysis has revealed that two very distinct approaches to healing emerge from the two groups: Wesleyan-Pentecostalism and Finished Work Pentecostalism. What accounts for these significant differences in theology and practice? My contention is that the differences may be accounted for by the very different soteriologies by which each group is identified and shaped.

Indeed, the primary tenet for both groups, with regard to healing, is that healing is provided in the atonement. This statement alone places healing theology in the category of soteriology, as the act of atonement is understood by both groups to provide salvation for the whole person. What has emerged in this study is the realization that the understanding of salvation and how it is obtained has directly affected the way each of these groups theologized about healing and thereby how they practiced the ministry of healing.

Each group seems to have been driven by a kind of canon within the canon. While maintaining that all of scripture is inspired, a selective reading of the canon pushed them to draw certain conclusions which were in line with the point of view of certain texts. While all were heavily influenced by the Acts narratives as normative for the life of the church, the Wesleyan-Pentecostal stream appears to resonate with the soteriological orientation of the book of Hebrews.¹ The Finished Work stream was influenced by a reading of Romans informed by the Reformed tradition.

In addition, each group was the product of their spiritual ancestry. Wesleyan-Pentecostals, were of course indebted to the Wesleyan movement and its hermeneutic. The earliest leaders of the Wesleyan-Pentecostal groups had been actively engaged in ministry in Holiness denominations or

¹ J. H. King's *magnum opus*, *From Passover to Pentecost*, is heavily dependent upon the kind of typology found in Hebrews. Thirty-two references to the book of Hebrews are found in *AF*. See also "Old Testament Feasts Fulfilled In our Souls Today", *AF*, 1.9 (June-September 1907), p. 2. Tomlinson cites Hebrews 11.35 in his discussion of fidelity to the doctrine of divine healing in *The Last Great Conflict* (p. 20).

churches before accepting the Pentecostal experience.² The Finished Work stream's spiritual genealogy can be traced to Baptist roots, albeit they had embraced a Wesleyan theology and experience of sanctification for a time prior to their Pentecostal experiences.³

The introduction of Finished Work soteriology into Pentecostal theology created a paradigm shift. Not only was the understanding of sanctification altered but, predictably, the move also affected other areas of Pentecostal theology and practice, eventually culminating in a new understanding of God in one stream of the Movement. Faupel has shown that by shifting the emphasis primarily to Jesus, and with the expectation of a new revelation especially among Pentecostals on the West Coast, the stage was set for the emergence of Oneness theology.⁴ This shift is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the understanding of healing theologies.⁵

Owing to the differences in ecclesiology among the various Pentecostal groups and a "last days" fervency more concerned about evangelism than theological discourse, there was never a council or dialogue to discuss the division following Durham's challenge over the movement's understanding of sanctification, though there were polemical

² There are exceptions to this but even those who had come out of Baptist backgrounds, such as C. H. Mason and R. G. Spurling, had embraced the Wesleyan understanding of sanctification prior to becoming Pentecostal. See earlier discussions in chapter 3 as well as Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition*.

³ See Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*. See also Ch. 3, pt. 3.

⁴ See chapter 3 above for the history of the emergence of this theology. See Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel*, pp. 270-290. Also note that Durham himself had shifted the emphasis from Acts 2.4, found on the early mastheads of *PT* [see 1: 5 (July 1, 1910) and 1: 8 (1911)] to Acts 2.38, found on later mastheads [2.1 (January, 1912) and 2.2 (May ? 1912)]. He cites the text as normative experience in 2.1 (January, 1912), p. 3, 8. This inevitably gave rise to what became *the* paradigm for salvation in Oneness theology. Dulles, in discussing *paradigm shifts*, describes the resulting tensions in thought and the inevitable re-construction which is necessary: "...one must recognize that the transition from one to another is fraught with difficulties. Each paradigm brings with it its own favorite set of images, its own rhetoric, its own values, certitudes, commitments, and priorities. It even brings with it a particular set of preferred problems. When paradigms shift, people suddenly find the ground cut out from under their feet. They cannot begin to speak the new language without already committing themselves to a whole new set of values that may not be to their taste." See Avery Dulles, *Models of the Church* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1976), pp. 28-29.

⁵ Simon Chan has recently argued that this loss of the understanding of sanctification as a "discernible" work has resulted in a divorce of power and holiness, i.e.-spirit baptism is no longer linked to holiness. He calls 1910 a "watershed year" marking the beginning of the "fragmentation of Pentecostal spirituality", not just a fragmenting of the movement. He goes on to correlate the three-stage soteriology (saved, sanctified, baptized in the Holy Spirit) with other ancient traditions, such as the "Three Ways," See Simon Chan, *Pentecostal Theology and the Christian Spiritual Tradition* JPTS 21 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), pp. 68-72 and 73-96. See particularly his discussion of subsequence on pp. 85-96.

writings in circulation. Had there been an opportunity for dialogue, it is possible that the resulting ossification of positions would not have occurred in the ways they did.

This chapter presents my construction of the resulting healing theologies of each group, a construction that reflects upon the areas of unity and diversity, strengths and weaknesses of each theological position. Though these early Pentecostals never wrote soteriologies or healing theologies in the technical sense of those terms, neither with regard to the language often employed in theological writing, nor in the systematic way most often found in Reformed theology, I attempt to construct models of each stream, based on the findings of the previous analysis. This attempt begins with an exposition of each of these models, the Wesleyan-Pentecostal healing model and the Finished Work Pentecostal model. Only Pentecostal theology and practice, as it is exhibited in the previous chapter, is taken into account.

I have found the method espoused by Avery Dulles in analyzing various ecclesiologies by distinguishing “models” of the church to be helpful.⁶ This approach proposes a metaphor or paradigm and explores the ramifications of that metaphor for the *whole*, in a consistent way. It is an integrative approach in that it offers a construct with a whole range of accompanying views, values and interpretations. As H. Richard Niebuhr has pointed out, no system, once it is *fleshed out* by the humans who subscribe to it, is entirely consistent.⁷ But models or paradigms, expressed on paper, are helpful tools, by which one learns and evaluates thought.

In addition to the approach of Dulles, I have been informed, methodologically, by Clark Pinnock’s construction of a full-blown theology from the perspective of the Spirit. This innovative enterprise is found in his *Flame of Love*.⁸ Though Pinnock does not take a *models* approach, his experiment with thinking through the major theological loci *pneumatologically* has intrigued and challenged me. My own attempt here is to delineate Pentecostal theologies which grow out of the dynamic interaction of the Word, the Spirit and the worshiping community [what Gause

⁶ Avery Dulles, *Models of the Church*. See also his *Models of Revelation* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1983). For a similar but more philosophical “models” approach see Sallie McFague, *Models of God: Theology for an Ecological, Nuclear Age* (London: SCM Press, 1987).

⁷ See his discussion of “The Enduring Problem.” H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (NY: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1951), pp. 43-44.

⁸ Clark Pinnock, *Flame of Love* (Downer’s Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1996).

Gause would describe as *rappor[t]*⁹ in the *experience* of healing.

Owing to the nature of Pentecostal theology, the models are intentionally dynamic and integrative, resisting the tendency of some systematic approaches which compartmentalize and/or isolate doctrines. I am indebted to Land's contention that a revisioned Pentecostal theology should correlate around the loci of "God, history, salvation, church and mission."¹⁰ Therefore, each of the models proposed will consider the *primary* experiences of God, sin and sickness, salvation and the ministry of the church with regard to healing.

Following the exposition of the models, a case study demonstrates how each group responded to the 1918 flu epidemic. By comparing and contrasting the responses, the differences between these two distinct approaches become evident.¹¹

I. The Wesleyan-Pentecostal Model

The Wesleyan-Pentecostal theology examined in the previous chapter begins and ends with the Triune God. The Pentecostals coming from the Holiness tradition who accepted the Pentecostal message understood their experience as being a fuller revelation of who God is. Having received the promise of the Father, sent by the Father and Son, they now possessed a "revelation of the Trinity" within themselves.¹² As Steve Land has explained, these Pentecostals understood that with the incoming of the Spirit in regeneration, came the Father and the Son. Basing his conclusion on John 17, Land writes, "The Spirit brings the Son and the Father, who by the Spirit makes a habitation in the midst of and within humanity." Though most Christian theologies contend that believers are taken up into the Godhead, Land contends that there is a "mutual indwelling....a habitation of God through the Spirit. Once one is filled with the Spirit, or baptized in the Spirit,

⁹ R. Hollis Gause has described Wesleyan-Pentecostal theology as a "Theology of Worship" over and against a theology of experience or, on the other end of the spectrum, a rationalistic theology. He outlines this theology as one of rapture, rapport and proleptic. I am deeply indebted to his work for my own understanding of Pentecostal Theology. R. Hollis Gause, "Distinctives of a Pentecostal Theology," unpublished paper, p. 28.

¹⁰ Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, p. 196.

¹¹ Based on analysis of the available materials, it has been shown that no significant differences emerge between the Finished Work group and its offshoot, Oneness Pentecostalism, with regard to healing. This is not to say that significant differences did not eventually emerge as Oneness Pentecostalism developed.

¹² J. H. King, *From Passover to Pentecost*, p.136.

that person is then in a further state of yieldedness to and empowerment by God the Spirit.”¹³ Catholic scholar Ralph Del Colle concurs. Writing of the Pentecostal-charismatic understanding of Spirit baptism, he describes the experience as “intrinsically trinitarian in nature.” He continues “Through the pneumatic effusion of Spirit baptism the Christian is empowered with the Holy Spirit in the mission of Jesus Christ to the glory of God the Father.”¹⁴ King maintained that as the Trinity was manifested at Jesus’ baptism, and as the biblical Pentecost event in Acts 2 was a full revelation of the Trinity, so baptism in the Spirit, or a personal Pentecost, was a full manifestation of the Trinity in the life of the believer.¹⁵ As they now entered into Pentecost, the Feast of the Firstfruits, they celebrated a new and fuller understanding of God. This was a fuller place of knowing and being known by God.

For these Wesleyan-Pentecostals, the God of the beginning and the end was seen as a God of holy love. In their view this Holy Trinity exists in love and fellowship, and desires loving communion with humanity, the crown of the Triune God’s creation, which reflects God’s divine image. Reading Genesis with a new and fuller understanding of the Trinity resulted in an interpretation of a God who was a plurality of being and who, as a relational God, created humanity, who could relate both to the Creator and to each other. The human creature, in Genesis, walks and talks with the Creator, in the garden in the cool of the day. What is implied in the picture is wholeness, *shalom*.

When sin enters, there is a disruption in the communion between God and the human as well as between human and human. The results of this Fall, as they are described in Genesis 3, are viewed by this tradition as real, not virtual, and not simply changes of status or position. The strife that is described is one that is deeply rooted in a change of the nature of the human. This change of nature affects the human in relational ways and this

¹³ Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, p. 170.

¹⁴ Ralph Del Colle, “Oneness and Trinity: A Preliminary Proposal for Dialogue with Oneness Pentecostalism”, *JPT* 10 (April 1997), p. 86.

¹⁵ King, p. 136. See Land’s discussion of “Trinitarian ‘deepening’” in Irwin, Myland and King, pp. 198-199. See also his discussion on p. 32. Here he cites John 14.16 and comments, “The Holy Spirit brings the Father and the Son who, together with the Spirit, abide with and in the believer.” In addition, see 1 John 3.24; 4.12-16. Stephen S. Smalley concurs, describing this “mutual indwelling” in his commentary on these verses in *Word Biblical Commentary: Vol. 51--1, 2, 3 John* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1984), pp. 209-213; 245-256. See also his remarks on p. 192: “For although the Christian is called to abide through Jesus...the stress in this letter is on the attributes of God, and God himself, indwelling the believer....”

results in a distorted creation. With this the ecological balance is destroyed and death is a grim reality, as is all that leads to it: pain, labor, disease.

Wesleyan-Pentecostal readers saw an implicit promise of restoration in the pronouncement of curse: the seed of the woman will make things right, bruising the head of the enemy. The time when humanity will once again commune fully with God is viewed as being anticipated by the prophets, a time when righteousness will once again prevail.

God was seen as extending his grace to his people through the Law, where right relationships with God, humanity and the rest of creation are provided for and in daily, as well as extraordinary, provision. One of the benefits of his gracious provision, as the Psalmists declares, is the healing of disease (Psalm 103.3). All of these provisions foreshadow the fulfillment of righteousness.

The preaching, singing and testifying of early Wesleyan-Pentecostals testified to a Saviour whose life, death, burial, resurrection and ascension provided for their every need. While they certainly could testify of Jesus paying the penalty of sin and of being pardoned in a juridical sense, their understanding of *full* salvation required a fuller understanding of the work of Christ. This full gospel, or five-fold gospel, understood that Jesus was their Saviour, Sanctifier, Spirit Baptizer, Healer and Soon Coming King. They testified of being redeemed, of being born-again, of being a new creation, of overcoming, of going through, of having “the victory,” and of pressing through. These kinds of experiences could not be the product of a judicial pardon alone. All of these pictures pointed to an integrated atonement model, one which could deal with all the effects of the Fall.¹⁶

For these Wesleyan-Pentecostals, the Incarnation signified the pinnacle of God’s gifts of grace. As John writes, through Jesus, the believers have been given grace upon grace (John 1.16). As the Word became flesh, so began what Irenaeus called the *recapitulation* of humanity. This Last Adam, God in flesh, elevates humanity, beginning the process of restoration of all that was lost in the Fall. As Christ offers himself to the Father on the cross by the Eternal Spirit [Hebrews], as death is conquered in the

¹⁶ Their view of the atonement appears to have more in common with what Gustav Aulen has described as the *Christus Victor* or classic model of the atonement than with what Aulen calls the Latin theory. See Gustav Aulen, *Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of the Atonement*. Authorized translation by A. G. Hebert (London: SPCK, 1965). See esp. pp. 16-80.

resurrection, as he ascends and sends the Holy Spirit, the reversal of the curse and its effects is begun. Thus, atonement was viewed as effective for all needs of fallen humanity, spiritual, emotional and physical. The complete suffering of the Servant in Isaiah 53 is effective for complete fallenness. As Aulen interprets Irenaeus, the Holy Spirit continues the work of recapitulation, moving the believer toward that final day, when as John writes in his first epistle (3.2), “we shall see Him as He is and we shall be like Him.”¹⁷ Wesleyan Pentecostals very much understood that they lived in the age of the Spirit, and had received an impartation of the Spirit which moved them toward the time when all things would be made new.¹⁸ Indeed, the Spirit had been poured out and was now making all things new.¹⁹ The restoration made possible by the life and work of Jesus was now being carried out by the Spirit.

While the worldview of the Wesleyan-Pentecostals may be called dualistic, in actuality, their worldview was more complex. They, on the side of God, saw themselves still in battle with the Serpent in the Garden, but the enemies of the soul were better designated to be the world, the flesh and the devil. For them, it was true that this perverted world and the carnality of humanity were the results of Satan’s deception in the Garden. All of these enemies could produce spiritual and physical ills. Sickness would not be a part of this world if it had not been for the Fall. However, these Wesleyan-Pentecostals were likely to say that God could also be the source of illness, especially as discipline or even judgment. They also allowed for those illnesses which are *natural*, always remembering that what is naturally in the

¹⁷ Aulen, p. 22.

¹⁸ It was this new age of the Spirit which King saw as a full revelation of the Trinity. It appears that King may have inherited this understanding from his earlier Bishop, B. H. Irwin, who saw the “baptism of fire” as personally introducing “the believer to the different persons of the Trinity” [William T. Puritan, “‘Red Hot Holiness’: B. H. Irwin and the Fire-Baptized Holiness Tradition,” unpublished paper presented to the 27th Annual Meeting to the Society for Pentecostal Studies (1998)]. See King, *From Passover to Pentecost*.

¹⁹ This understanding is similar to John Fletcher’s dispensationalism which saw three overlapping ages, corresponding respectively to the three persons of the Trinity. Fletcher’s dispensationalism was similar to that of Joachim of Fiore. Moltmann, similarly speaks of three movements: the monarchical, eucharistic and doxological. It is important to note that this is not modalism, as has developed in Oneness Pentecostal theology. See Land, “The Triune Center: Pentecostals and Wesleyans Together Again in Mission,” *WJT* 34.1 (Spring 1999), pp. 83-100 and Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, p. 193. Wesleyan-Pentecostals would have inherited the Fletcher theology as part of their heritage from the Wesleyan Holiness movement.

world is a part of the fallenness of the world order.²⁰ But the discerning believer would attempt to identify the source of temptation or the spiritual or physical need. Wesleyan-Pentecostal soteriology provided for overcoming this complicated three-headed enemy.²¹

As with Wesley, *grace* was understood in a more Eastern Christian sense as *power* working in the earth, the church and in the believer.²² This is opposed to the Western and Reformed view which views grace, primarily, in a juridical sense, as pardon.²³ As the human responds to God's grace, not only are one's past sins forgiven, but the believer may, through the crisis-process of sanctification, deal with the power of sin, the *plague* of sin, in her/his life. The believer is led by the Spirit toward the time when she/he will be free from the very presence of sin.²⁴ So, salvation is an all-inclusive term, which covers the journey of faith from conversion to glorification.

Because Wesleyan-Pentecostals held this dynamic view of the Christian life, one in which God continually extends grace and the believer/church responds, their lifestyle could be defined as a life of ongoing worship, or living in the Spirit. Through prayer, praise, lament, song, testimony and sacramental acts they were "made to sit together in heavenly places," being elevated to a place of communion with God, proleptically experiencing the worship of heaven. Every act of the believer in community was an act of worship, an encounter with God, whereby one received more and more grace. The ministry of healing, like other forms of ministry, were acts of worship, where offering was made to God and where healing grace

²⁰ See E. Brooks Holifield, *Health and Medicine in the Methodist Tradition: Journey Toward Wholeness* (New York: Crossroad, 1986), pp. 13-22. Here Holifield discusses Wesley's understanding of the origins of sin and disease and Redemption's goal or " 'a restoration of the soul to its primitive health'" (p. 17).

²¹ See Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, ch. 3.

²² See Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, pp. 84-87. Hoo-Jung Lee concurs with Maddox on this point. He writes, "It is characteristic of Wesley's pneumatology that grace is considered synonymous with the empowering presence and work of the Spirit...He also identified grace with 'that power of God the Holy Ghost which 'worketh in us both to will and to do his good pleasure.'"" Hoo-Jung Lee, "Experiencing the Spirit in Wesley and Macarius" in *Rethinking Wesley's Theology for Contemporary Methodism* (Nashville, TN: Kingswood Books, 1998), p. 201.

²³ See discussions in Maddox, *Responsible Grace*, p. 84 and Theodore Runyon, *The New Creation: John Wesley's Theology Today* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon), p. 26.

²⁴ See R. Hollis Gause, *Living in the Spirit: The Way of Salvation* (Cleveland, TN.: Pathway Press, 1980) for a Wesleyan-Pentecostal soteriology which identifies and locates the crisis-experiences along the *via salutis*. For expositions of Wesley's understanding of salvation as way see Kenneth J. Collins, *The Scripture Way of Salvation: The Heart of John Wesley's Theology* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1997) and Maddox, *Responsible Grace*.

was imparted.

Wesleyan-Pentecostals held that as the believer experiences and responds to more and more grace, he/she becomes receptive to the Gift of the Holy Spirit or Baptism with/in the Holy Spirit. This infilling of the Spirit is an impartation of God in the life of the believer. And with this infilling, there comes an impartation of spiritual gifts or graces.

If, in this view, sickness and disease are all effects of the Fall and of sin in the world, then the atoning work of Jesus must also provide for healing from these effects. Though the immediate source of the illness could be natural or even God's judgment, ultimately it was a result of a Fallen world order and the atonement provided the remedy.

Each and every act of healing is viewed first of all as a sign of the Coming Kingdom. Just as Jesus identified the hallmarks of his Kingdom in his preaching in Luke 4, the believer, as he/she preaches is "followed by" signs which not only point to but *are* the Kingdom which is to come. As the longer ending of Mark has informed them, these events and occurrences were indications that the Kingdom of God is now present.²⁵ If they believed that the church lived in that tension between the ages, the tension of the *already-not yet*, and the believer and or church obeyed by going and preaching, then they held that, in the Age of the Spirit, the Kingdom of God would break in with miraculous speech and phenomena which could only be a part of another world. Just as speaking in tongues was thought to signify that the immanent-transcendent God had filled the human vessel, the healing of the sick signified that the Spirit of Life had broken into the cursed and fallen world.²⁶

All healings, then, like all gifts of grace, were to be viewed as foretastes, or earnest, of the resurrection. According to Romans 8, the Spirit quickens the mortal body and gives life as a foretaste of the life in the age to come, the age of cosmic redemption or future glory. Just as the Spirit raised Jesus from the dead, so the Spirit is raising, or deifying, our mortal bodies. Wesleyan-Pentecostals understood that they were presently participating in the resurrection. Healing and restoration to health, while still wrapped in

²⁵ See Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, pp. 53-56 for a discussion of the *already-not yet* tension in Pentecostal eschatology. See also his discussion in "Be Filled With the Spirit: The Nature and Evidence of Spiritual Fullness", *Ex Auditu* 12 (1996), p. 109.

²⁶ See Frank D. Macchia, "Sighs too Deep for Words," *JPT* 1 (October 1992), pp. 47-73 and Land, "Be Filled With the Spirit."

mortality, was viewed as a sign of the time when mortality will put on immortality.²⁷

As were all of God's gifts, Wesleyan-Pentecostals contended that healing was received by faith. *Faith* for them was best understood as trust and as abiding, consistent with the views set forth in Hebrews 11.²⁸ It is faith looking forward to the promise, not backward to the past work accomplished.²⁹ These early Pentecostals were more apt to discuss faithfulness, or fidelity, than faith as a formula or method. One lived by faith, was faithful, and had fidelity or integrity in their walk. As one lived a life of faithfulness toward God, and as one participated in God's grace, then one could trust God for healing from disease. Faith was also understood as a gift of God, or even the Faith of God or Christ *in* the believer. This gracious gift allowed one to lean on Jesus alone as provider of healing and wholeness. The ultimate question was "Are you faithful?" In the test of faithfulness, one could even experience illness. In this case, the test was to continue to abide, trusting God fully.

It was thought that as the believing church trusted in God and in the adequacy of the work of his Son, and the continuing work of the Spirit, they were to act appropriately. First, fidelity or faithfulness required that one trust Jesus completely as Healer and as Great Physician. This meant that one could not be truly faithful and use medicines, medical treatments or physicians. To do so would be to betray the trust. God had provided a healer in Jesus and he, alone, was to be sought to provide the remedy. This did not necessarily mean that medicine or doctors could not be helpful to the unbeliever, but the Pentecostal should trust in Jesus alone. As is stated

²⁷ It is significant that healings often accompanied other *spiritual* experiences such as the initial Baptism in the Holy Spirit, visions, trances, prophecies or messages in tongues.

²⁸ See G. Barth, "πίστις" in Horst Balz and Gerhard Schneider, eds., *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*, Vol. 3 (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1991), pp. 96, 97 where it is maintained that faith in Heb. 11.1 is discussed in terms of the object of faith: "The invisible gifts of promise constitute a secure reality for faith. This establishes the basis of that faithful perseverance solicited in the admonition, which the following list of witnesses of faith illustrates. For those witnesses the blessings of the promise were a dependable reality to which they held fast." It is further maintained that πίστις may also mean "trust in God's promise (vv. 7, 11, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 29)" or "obedient acceptance of God's word (vv. 8; 17:28)," or "belief in God's existence (vv. 3, 6)." This interpretation is also held by Jean Hering, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock, translators (London: Epworth Press, 1970), pp. 98-109 as well as Barnabas Lindars, SSF, *The Theology of the Letter to the Hebrews*, J. D. G. Dunn, ed., New Testament Theology Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 101-18.

²⁹ See Hering, p. 98.

above, this was a test of faithfulness and fidelity. This was not a way which anticipated that everyone who was faithful would be healed in this life. But to be faithful, one must not trust in any but Jesus. The church cooperated with God by trusting in Him ultimately.

Secondly, in obedience to the Word and through discernment by the Spirit, the believer prayed for the sick to recover. More importantly, the believer prayed in anticipation of the things which were to come. This discerning obedience is exhibited and performed sacramentally, through a variety of Scripturally prescribed or inferred means.

For Wesleyan-Pentecostals, these acts on behalf of the sick first, and always, involved prayer. “The prayer of faith” as described by James was and could be prayed by any and everyone in the community of faith. Prayer for the sick, like all prayer in the Wesleyan-Pentecostal community, involved active seeking and pursuit of God and His answer. The individual believer or corporate body could be urged by the Spirit to “pray through” with regard to this special need. The prayer was thought to be going somewhere and pushing or pressing through what may have prevented the needed transformation; it was viewed as movement toward God, anticipating an inbreaking of the Spirit and a gift of His grace.

This prayer most often took place at the altar. Though the terminology and practice was probably inherited from the nineteenth century holiness revival [specifically Finney and Palmer’s influence], the movement seemed to have developed beyond Palmer’s understanding of the altar as Jesus. Palmer, as was discussed in chapter two, was concerned to make sanctification accessible *immediately* and thereby circumvented the process in the work of sanctification. In an interpretation of the Old Testament sacrificial system which saw Jesus as fulfillment of the law, she equated the altar with the finished work of Christ.³⁰ While Wesleyan-Pentecostals certainly echoed her language of the accessibility of God’s grace, there seems to be a move back to Wesley’s original intent of *crisis-process*, at least where healing is concerned. For these Pentecostals, the altar, an area sometimes designated in the space between the pulpit and the congregation,

³⁰ See Dieter’s discussion in “The Development of Nineteenth Century Holiness Theology”, pp. 61-77.

was the place where one met with God.³¹ Preachers, like King, also drew heavily upon the tabernacle imagery of the Old Testament, but saw a process as one moved through the courts of the tabernacle from one area and its furnishings to the next. The altar of the outer court was the “place of surrender” and the altar of incense represented worship.³² As one “grabs hold of the horns of the altar” like David in the Old Testament, the presence of the Lord is expected to respond with more gifts of grace. These gifts could involve purging, repentance, assurance, or other “blessings.” But the goal was always to arrive at the place of transformation. Therefore, since healing of the body was seen as a gift of God which is transformative, and therefore salvific, it was understandably pursued at the altar.

In the worship setting, whether formal [church services] or informal [prayer meetings in homes], the sick were anointed with oil, in obedience to James 5. This sacramental anointing signified the work of the Holy Spirit in the gift of healing. It was the Spirit who continued and made effective the work of Jesus, including His atonement, therefore this action dramatizes something which was occurring in the spiritual realm.

Similarly, the church and/or minister laid hands on the sick. Sacramentally, this action reflected the idea of a transference of the Spirit from one believer to the next, or from God through another believer.³³ More than obedience, the action was fraught with anticipation of the inbreaking of God’s grace and gifts. God’s Spirit was understood to dwell in His people and these Pentecostals, without arrogance, apparently believed that “healing virtue” could be transferred through human touch.³⁴ However, Wesleyan-Pentecostals, out of reverence, or humility, were hesitant to admit such. Like their hesitancy to claim possession of healing as a gift of the Spirit, they were

³¹ It must be noted that “the altar,” though designated in most church buildings to be in a certain location, could be made wherever the believer or group of believers found themselves; Pentecostals could make an altar in any location including their homes, automobiles, forests or mountain ledges. See Daniel E. Albrecht, *Rites in the Spirit: A Ritual Approach to Pentecostal/Charismatic Spirituality* JPTS 17 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 131-133 where he discusses the altar as ritual space. Albrecht also sees this space as a place of meeting with God. He allows that the *altar* area may simply be referred to as “the front” (131). None of the congregations studied in Albrecht’s research were Wesleyan-Pentecostal.

³² See King, pp. 40-41.

³³ See John Fleter Tipei, *The Laying on of Hands in the New Testament*. (Ph.D. thesis, University of Sheffield, 2000).

³⁴ The action is seen to be warranted in Mark 16.18 but is also informed by Mark 5.25-34. Hollenweger has cited the “body/mind relationship” as being inherited from African spirituality. See W. J. Hollenweger, “After Twenty Years’ Research on Pentecostalism,” *International Review of Mission* 75.297 (January, 1986), pp. 3-12.

hesitant to say that they would be a channel through which God's grace could pass.

There was also a mystical aspect to prayer for the sick. The sick person did not need to be present; the prayer offered in faith could transcend space and time.³⁵ As a corollary, an object [most notably, a handkerchief, based on precedent in Acts 19] could be prayed for and anointed on behalf of the person and his/her illness. The object, then sent to the sick person, served to connect him/her to the faith community via the Spirit. Reflection on this ministry by Tomlinson reveals that the "saints" who offered up prayer on behalf of the person(s) represented by the handkerchief(s) thought of themselves as "being in the midst of that many sick folks" comparing the scene to the one found in Acts 5.15,16.³⁶ This identification with the biblical drama is an example of what John McKay calls "shared experience," where charismatic/Pentecostal readers of scripture see themselves as participants in the biblical drama, especially as it continues to unfold.³⁷ This awareness served to heighten the earnestness of the prayer, according to Tomlinson.³⁸

It is significant, that though healing could occur in what may be described as individualistic circumstances, more often the healing was sought and received in the community of faith setting. The "elders" were sought [however the term "elders" was interpreted] either in the formal church service or in the home. Even when the person was in a place of isolation, prayers of those in the church were sought across the miles and testimony would be given to that body. Healing, then, was understood to be a ministry of the church.

Related to this understanding, is the idea that the healing ministry was seen to be a major component of the Pentecostal ministerial vocation.³⁹

³⁵ Prayer was understood to transcend time in that the prayer could have a future answer.

³⁶ See Ch. 3, Part 2.III.F.

³⁷ John McKay, "When the Veil is Taken Away: The Impact of Prophetic Experience on Biblical Interpretation," p. 26. McKay defines "shared experience as "...awareness of the similarity between their own experience and that of the prophets, apostles and Jesus, and also their awareness of being active participants in the same drama in which the biblical personages were involved, of playing the same sort of part as they played in it, and of doing so in the same prophetic manner."

³⁸ Ch. 3, Part 2.III.F.

³⁹ If Runyon is correct in his contention that Wesley viewed the *imago dei* more as "vocation or calling to which human beings are called, the fulfillment of which constitutes their true destiny" then Pentecostals were truly Wesleyan in their understanding of the Christian vocation as inclusive of the healing ministry. In that ministry, they reflect (the Eastern understanding of image) God who is The Healer. See Runyon, pp. 13,14.

Because the Pentecostal minister was understood to be filled with the Spirit, he or she could be used by the Spirit and gifted by the Spirit for whatever a situation required. If healing was needed, then the Spirit would gift that minister [or any Spirit-filled believer] with gifts of healings. The Pentecostal minister was seen to be equipped by the Spirit for the mission of the church and that mission included healing the sick.

Though healing was expected and anticipated, instances when healing did not occur were not necessarily viewed as defeat or as a failure of faith. Therefore, it was not a weakness of faith to seek for healing [or any gift of God's grace] more than once. This persistence in prayer, *tarrying*, protracted prayer [praying over a long period of time] or praying more than once was understood as transformative in and of itself. It was considered to be communication with, by and through God the Spirit. Like all of God's gifts, reception could be instantaneous, but could also require process. In this, the Wesleyan-Pentecostal saw God as holy and sovereign. Henry Knight discusses various healing theologies and practices, placing them on a continuum between Faithfulness (God always heals if you do these things) and Freedom (God is sovereign and free to heal whom he chooses to heal).⁴⁰ Wesleyan-Pentecostals would be placed on the side of God's Freedom on this continuum. This also reflects their very Wesleyan understanding of the need for *assurance*.⁴¹

It is because of this holistic understanding of the work of the Spirit in the earth, bringing about restoration, that death was viewed as ultimate healing. Though many were healed and kept from death for the moment [a sickness "not unto death"] so that they might continue in the work of the Lord, the ultimate goal of the Wesleyan-Pentecostal believer was to "die in the faith." Though there was grief at a saint's death, it was not the grief that the world experienced. In this, these Pentecostals could celebrate the "homegoing" of a loved one. This Wesleyan-Pentecostal faith was a living faith and a dying faith. Indeed, to witness the death of a saint was seen as another opportunity to worship the Lord of Life.

⁴⁰ Henry H. Knight, "God's Faithfulness and God's Freedom: A Comparison of Contemporary Theologies of Healing," pp. 65-89.

⁴¹ Unlike Palmer's altar theology and that of some 19th century healing ministers, Wesleyan-Pentecostals did not require a person immediately to testify to having received the promise, regardless of symptoms.

Conclusion--

In good Wesleyan fashion, Wesleyan-Pentecostals of the early twentieth century viewed God relationally. Jesus, the Son of God, was their healer, *because* he was their Saviour, Sanctifier, Spirit-baptizer and Coming King. Specifically, they maintained that healing was provided in the atonement made by Jesus Christ. The atonement was understood to be the remedy for the *sin problem* which had resulted from the Fall. This remedy was able to reverse all of the effects of the Fall, including sickness and disease. This work of recapitulation was continuing through the Spirit's work in the church, bringing the church to the time when the Kingdom would be fully manifested. Therefore, the worshiping and faithful church trusted Jesus alone, and prayed for healing, as it prayed for other inbreakings of the Kingdom or signs of the Spirit. Every healing anticipated the resurrection. The church's ministry very much included the ministry of healing which was practiced sacramentally.

II. The Finished Work Pentecostal Model

The model of healing which arises from the Finished Work soteriology also begins with a Trinitarian view of God. Durham's theology clearly indicates a view of three persons: Father, Son and Spirit.⁴² However, it was a theology which emphasized the roles of the three which were less intimate and more juridical. The Father had passed a sentence of judgment and death upon humanity because of the sin of Adam. Therefore, the role of the Father was more accurately described as Judge.

In the Genesis account of the Fall, the focus was on the sentence that had been delivered. Death, rather than being understood therapeutically, was understood positionally. Now, the human creature stood in a position of

⁴² Apparently, the tendency to confuse the persons of the Trinity is incipient in the view, at least as it was received and proclaimed by some. In *PT*, 2.2 (May? 1912) Durham warns against two forms of "false doctrine" which had emerged. One declared that the Holy Spirit was received at the same time one received Christ because "in Christ dwells all the fullness of the Godhead bodily" and the other held that "the baptism in the Spirit is *the* witness of the Spirit, that only those who have the baptism in the Spirit have the witness of the Spirit to their acceptance with God." Durham is adamant that Spirit and Son are not "one and the same." Though he does not expound upon the role of the Father, he makes clear that he is a Trinitarian. Further, he warns against those who do not advocate baptism in the name of the Father, Son and Spirit saying those who have followed the prescription in Matthew 28.19 have been baptized into the Name of Jesus. He sees no contradiction in the texts (pp. 6, 7).

guilt and condemnation.⁴³ As a result of this transgression and its accompanying sentence of death, sickness had also entered the world. Sickness, like sin, is a state in which the human now found himself/herself. The need was for a judicial act which would result in reversal of the sentence.

The action which was called for in the view of these Pentecostals was one of atonement. The atonement that was needed on this view was a definitive, punctiliar action. Because the problem was understood *primarily* in this way, the soteriology was pushed into an extreme Christocentrism, focusing on the event of the cross.⁴⁴ This decisive action by Jesus was viewed as perfect, in the sense of complete and final. It was a *finished* work. Jesus was seen as a substitute for condemned humanity, paying the penalty price for redemption. This was a once and for all act which had eternal effect. In Durham's view, the resurrection had no apparent salvific effect. It was proof of "His mighty power" and gave "assurance to all men that He was His Son."⁴⁵ Additionally, it might be said that the life of Jesus leading up to the cross event had no particular salvific value in the view of Finished Work Pentecostal theology.⁴⁶ It was the obedient act of Christ on the cross which was all-significant. He was made sin for the sinner, took the sinner's place and paid the full penalty.

By Durham's own admission, this was primarily a "judicial" or forensic view of atonement.⁴⁷ With the juridical action of Christ in atonement, and satisfaction of God the Judge having been made, merit was made available

⁴³ See Durham, "The Finished Work of Calvary--It Makes Plain the Great Work of Redemption", *PT*, 2.2 (May? 1912), p. 3.

⁴⁴ For explanations of this theology as proposed by Durham, see "Sanctification: The Bible Does not Teach that It Is a Second Definite Work of Grace", *PT*, 1:8 (1911), pp. 1-3 and "The Finished Work of Calvary: Identification with Jesus Christ Saves and Sanctifies," *PT*, 2.1 (Jan 1912), pp. 1-3 and "The Gospel of Christ," *PT*, 2.1 (Jan. 1912), pp. 8-10.

⁴⁵ "The Gospel of Christ" in *PT*, 2.1 (Jan. 1912), p. 8. Durham is not far here from later Reformed writers such as Charles Hodge who see the resurrection as "mere 'evidence' that justification through the satisfaction of the cross has been accomplished" [Charles Hodge, *Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1958), p. 129] or Everett Harrison who writes, "It may be helpful to recognize that justification, considered objectively from the standpoint of God's provision, was indeed accomplished in the death of Christ and therefore did not require the resurrection to complete it." [Everett F. Harrison, *Romans*, The Expositor's Bible Commentary, vol. 10 (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1976), p. 54.] Both cited by Frank D. Macchia, "2000 Presidential Address: Justification and the Spirit", *Pneuma* 22.1 (Spring 2000), p. 9.

⁴⁶ Unlike Anselm, Durham's proposal of this satisfaction theory did not begin with contemplation on why God became human (*Cur Deus homo?*). He gives little or no place to the incarnation in the exposition of his christology.

⁴⁷ See *PT*, 2.1 (Jan. 1912), pp. 2, 9.

to humanity. This atonement was “Perfect and Eternal.”⁴⁸

This substitutionary act of Christ was appropriated by faith and belief on the name of Jesus. In so doing, the Finished Work Pentecostals held that the believer is identifying with Christ, seeing themselves dead in Christ, crucified with Him and quickened to newness of life. It was through that one act that the sinner is made righteous. Both justification and sanctification were states of righteousness or merit obtained through faith. As one reckoned himself/herself dead in Christ, he/she was in a state of justification and sanctification, pardoned and cleansed, outwardly and inwardly. Unlike others in the Reformed camp, Durham and his followers apparently did not want to maintain a doctrine of “Perseverance of the Saints.” However, Finished Work theology did emphasize abiding, or continuing, in the Finished Work. They talked about “growing in grace,” but clearly this was understood as a growing awareness of what it meant to identify with Christ.⁴⁹ There was no need for a further definitive experience to deal with any remaining sin. Durham wrote, “So we being dead, and raised from the dead in Christ, one time, are supposed to live unto God in the Spirit; and in His goodness He bestows the Spirit upon us to walk in.”⁵⁰

The atonement, then, was complete and was an act performed to deal with what was lost in the Fall. One of the effects of the Fall, which the Finished Work of Calvary was capable of dealing with, was the loss of the state of health. While Durham said little about healing in relation to his Finished Work view, it is clear that his followers, and even some of his predecessors who were already proposing a Finished Work theology [i.e.- Carrie Judd Montgomery], linked their understanding of “healing provided for all in the atonement” to a Finished Work soteriology. The same faith claims which were made about justification and sanctification were made about healing. One simply reckoned it done. Indeed, healing was accomplished at the cross. It, too, was merit added to the account of the believer. As one identified with Jesus, counting on his finished work, one simply resisted the “temptation” toward illness, denying the symptoms.

Finished Work Pentecostals recognized that the Spirit who quickened Jesus and raised him from the dead was also the Spirit who gave life to the

⁴⁸ Durham, “The Gospel of Christ”, *PT*, 2:1 (Jan. 1912), p. 8.

⁴⁹ See *PT*, 2.2 (May ? 1912), p. 3 as well as 2.1 (Jan. 1912), pp. 9 and 10.

⁵⁰ *PT*, 2.1 (Jan. 1912), p. 9.

mortality of the believer. The interpretation of the Romans 8.11 passage emphasized more the present implications of the passage than its future ones. This was brought on by an exchange of old mortality for new creation and accomplished through baptism in the Spirit. This baptism in the Spirit, the new revelation which had come since the 1906 revival, was actually the “seal of the finished salvation in Jesus Christ.”⁵¹ Baptism in the Spirit was a kind of affirmation of a work already completed. These Pentecostals did allow that the experience was the time when the Spirit “took up His abode within” and is an “indwelling presence;” Durham testified that the Spirit in the believer, “teaches us all things, bringing to our remembrance the words of Jesus, bears His fruits in our lives, imparts His gifts unto us, searches and reveals the deep things of God, and guides us into all truth.”⁵² It was talked about as an anointing for service which gives power. Though in this discussion the experience *could* be interpreted as being transformative or definitive, they still maintained that the experience looked back to the Finished Work. Most of the reflection on this experience seemed to focus on the manifestations at the time of the event and conclude that this was an enabling event.⁵³ As a result, the new life or creation was manifested in the life of the believer as Divine Health, literally Jesus’ health. As Jesus was understood to be sitting on the throne, in a resurrected body, the Spirit-filled believer could have this very resurrection life while still in this world.⁵⁴ One was able to maintain this state as long as one had faith.

Logically, signs of the Spirit, or signs following believers were interpreted by these Pentecostals as signs, or demonstrations, of a work already done. Whether the demonstration was of speaking in tongues, healing or exorcism of a demon, it pointed back to the time when the work of Christ was accomplished. That event and the seating of Christ by the right hand of the Father, had been evidenced on the day of Pentecost, as the Spirit was poured out on believers and was now being evidenced in the same way. The sign was anticipated as the sick person was prayed for.

⁵¹ Durham, “The Work of God in Los Angeles: How God Overruled the Attempt of the Devil to Stop It,” *PT*, 1.8 (1911), p. 11. Likewise, Carrie Judd Montgomery had understood Pentecostal tongues to be a new language in which to praise God for the finished work. See CJM, Section III B, p. 4.

⁵² Durham, “Personal Testimony of Pastor Durham,” *PT*, 2.3 (n.d.), p. 4.

⁵³ See “What is the Evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Ghost? No. 3,” *PT*, 2.1 (Jan. 1912), p. 5,6 and “Speaking in Tongues is the Evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit,” *PT*, 2.2 (May ? 1912), pp. 9-12.

⁵⁴ See Elizabeth Sisson’s comments in Chapter 3, Section 3.II.D.

Sign seems to be a way of understanding proof or confirmation. While it was lack of belief to wait for assurance before testifying of experience, one should expect the sign to follow.

For those in the Finished Work stream of Pentecostal healing theology, *faith* was necessary for appropriation of this merit of Christ's finished work. Just as one reckoned that the work necessary for salvation was done, the Spirit-filled believer also reckoned that healing had been accomplished. One could take her stand on what was written in the Word of God (and its promises), accept it and claim that the work was done. To do otherwise was to show a lack of belief. In this view of faith, attitude was all-important. This attitude could be acquired by habitually resisting illness and counting on the life of Jesus. It was a choice of the will. Of utmost importance, and true to the altar theology of Phoebe Palmer which was appropriated by Sarah Mix and Carrie Judd Montgomery, acting faith and testimony of the work already accomplished were essential to the formula. One did not wait on assurance of healing and was to deny the symptoms which may still exist.

Accompanying this kind of faith-claim, was the invocation of the name of Jesus. Literally the phrase "in the name of Jesus" or "in Jesus' name" became a sort of formula which was stated with all prayer. There was a power which was understood to come with the name of Jesus. This literalness would of course evolve into an understanding of the nature of the Godhead. At any rate, to claim by faith, in the name of Jesus, was a kind of guarantee of the benefit of healing and health.

Finished Work Pentecostals, like Wesleyan-Pentecostals, held that a person who had real faith would not consult a doctor or use medicine. To do so was to show a lack or weakness in faith. In fact, a *higher faith* demanded that one trust Jesus alone. Healing of a sort may occur through doctors or medicines, which may be acceptable for the unbeliever, but, according to Montgomery, it was not *divine* healing.⁵⁵

Faith and invocation of the name of Jesus was often accompanied by sacramental acts such as anointing with oil or laying on of hands. Though these Pentecostals in actuality saw the work as already complete, and primarily as the individual's responsibility to obtain, or live up to, they performed these actions out of obedience. These sacramental acts could be

⁵⁵ See ch. 3, section 3.I.C.

interpreted as signs of a work already completed, a sort of dramatization of the Quickening Spirit of God, already living and imparting life to the believer. These signs pointed backward to the work of Christ on the cross, where healing had already been provided. It is notable that these actions involved the Body of Christ, the elders or at least another believer or minister, again out of obedience. However, because the Finished Work theology did not necessarily call for more than an individual's attitude of faith, there was an apparent theological inconsistency in this sort of prayer for the sick.

This inconsistency may have contributed to the appearance of the itinerant healing evangelists. These evangelists operated in a sort of para-church fashion, though often endorsed by the church. Some adherents to Finished Work theology may have found it difficult to walk in "Jesus' health" by way of a simple faith claim and, therefore, found a kind of outlet for a shorter route and more immediate access to healing. For in the healing evangelist they found a person of faith who both embodied "Jesus health" and brought access to healing.

These evangelists, and others in the Finished Work camp, often employed other methods of healing which were noted in Scripture such as commanding the sick to be healed. This approach, which called for immediate response, emphasized the instantaneous nature of healing. Though Finished Work Pentecostals allowed for gradual healings, probably based upon their observations of how these healings did take place, it is clear that their theology called for an instantaneous work. Gradual healings were likely to be interpreted as healings which had already been obtained, but gradually manifested themselves.

Interestingly, there is no discussion of healing at the altar in the Finished Work literature. It would not be expected that one would need a place for seeking a transformative experience if one simply looked back to what had already been accomplished and reckoned it done. Probably, like Palmer they understood the cross to be the altar, once and for all. This is not to say that this designated area was not utilized in the ministry of healing. But in healing campaigns, such as those conducted by Woodworth-Etter or McPherson, the person often stood in the designated area, waiting for hands to be laid upon them. This gradually led to the "healing line" used often by

often by healing evangelists.⁵⁶

Finally, it is the inevitable conclusion of Finished Work healing theology that death was something to be resisted and denied. If talking of symptoms or sickness is a lack of faith, then surely dying exhibits a lack of faith. Because these Pentecostals, like all Pentecostals believed they were living in the Last Days, it was easy to conclude that they would be kept in health, not experience death and see the day of the Lord's return. This, of course, creates a tension when a community faces the death of a member. Did that person not have the faith necessary to claim the healing which was already accomplished for them? Unfortunately, there is little discussion of this inevitable situation. Because obituaries were not published, the reader does not have the benefit of the theological reflection nor the pastoral counsel which surely took place within these communities.

Conclusion--

Finished Work Pentecostals of the early twentieth century maintained that healing was provided in the atonement, the *finished work* of Jesus on the cross. Just as one *reckoned* that their salvation was accomplished on the cross, so one looked back to the cross and *reckoned* his/her healing accomplished. As a result of this finished work, the believer was already experiencing resurrection life. Sickness, as well as death, could be resisted, because of the finished work. In addition, one acted on faith and testified of the accomplishment of healing, denying symptoms. The ministry of healing was practiced in the church out of obedience to Scripture.

III. The 1918 Influenza Epidemic: A Case Study and Reflection

First generation American Pentecostals were faced with two earthshaking events or situations: World War I and the 1918 influenza epidemic. Each of these occurrences changed the landscape in which the Pentecostals lived and worshiped. Each affected their communities, their churches and even their homes. Suddenly, scores of people were dying. At first the deaths were occurring on foreign soil, but suddenly in 1918 a killer without a face stalked their homes.

⁵⁶ The altar in Wesleyan-Pentecostal services normally involved a posture of kneeling, rather than standing.

It is estimated that from twenty million to one hundred million people died worldwide as a result of the flu epidemic. One fifth of the world's population contracted this deadly strand of influenza, often referred to as "Spanish-flu," and twenty-eight percent of Americans were stricken. The outbreak was more deadly than any other in history.⁵⁷ It must have seemed an indomitable foe, for its victims were not only infants and the elderly, but young adults.⁵⁸ In an era which was witnessing its first war on a world-wide scale, the flu must have seemed the final blow.

A. Documentation with Regard to the Epidemic

How did these early Pentecostals, who believed so vehemently in Jesus as Great Physician cope with such a grim reality? An examination of the material published in *The Church of God Evangel*, *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate*, and *The Christian Evangel* is revealing.

All of the publications report "interruptions" to the regular business of the denominations or local churches. Quarantines were ordered by the government. Churches and Sunday Schools were closed;⁵⁹ printing of literature was suspended or delayed;⁶⁰ district, conference and national meetings were canceled.⁶¹

In the ethos of the Great War, the first war involving all the major world powers,⁶² for these Christians who considered themselves to be "Evening Light Saints," living in the last days, it was easy to see this epidemic as a plague of judgment. Under the heading "The Spanish Influenza" the editors (Bell and Frodsham) of *The Christian Evangel* exhorted their readers that this was surely "the beginning of sorrows."⁶³ In January 1919 the headline on the

⁵⁷ Gina Kolata, *Flu: The Story of the Great Influenza Pandemic of 1918 and the Search for the Virus That Caused It* (NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999), p. 7. According to the program transcript for "Influenza 1918," an episode of the PBS series *The American Experience*, 600,000 Americans died as a result of the epidemic. This would be analogous to 1,400,000 Americans dying today, "in a sudden outbreak for which there was no explanation and no known cure." (<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/influenza/filmmore/transcript/transcript1.html>)

⁵⁸ Kolata, p. 5.

⁵⁹ See *CE*, (19 October 1918), p. 4; *COGE*, 9.45 (October 12, 1918), p. 2; *PHA*, 2.38 (16 January 1919), p. 1.

⁶⁰ *CE*, (19 October 1918), p. 4; *PHA*, 2.51 (17 April 1919), p. 1; *COGE*, 12.1 (January 4, 1919), p. 2.

⁶¹ *COGE*, 9.42 (October 19, 1918), p. 2; 9.44 (November 2, 1918), p. 2; *PHA*, 2.33-34 (19-26 December 1918), p. 6.

⁶² The issues of the periodicals which were published during the period of WWI reflect that the writers/editors saw this war, and especially the expansiveness of it, as a sign of the times. See *PHA*, 2.30 (30 January 1919), p. 8 and *WE*, (September 23, 1916), p. 16 for example.

⁶³ *CE*, (19 October 1918), p. 4.

front page of *The Church of God Evangel* proclaimed: “The Last Days ‘Perilous Times’ Have Come Upon All The World!” Tomlinson boldly declared “We have had the sword, and the hunger is on now and has been more or less for three years, death is doing its deadly work. Physicians call it influenza, but I notice death claims the victims and snatches them out of the hands of the physicians and they are compelled to stand aside and let their patients go.” For Tomlinson, the horrors described in Revelation 6 were present.⁶⁴

Because Taylor, of *The Advocate*, was committed to the dispensational eschatology outlined by J. A. Seiss in *Lectures on the Apocalypse*, he did not believe that the influenza epidemic was the plague described in Revelation but did contend that it was “judgment from God upon the whole world almost for their wickedness, and God is dealing with nations as though they were individuals.”⁶⁵ So there was agreement that this was indeed a plague and a judgment.

However, the approach of the Pentecostals as to how one should face this plague was somewhat different in the two streams of the tradition.

Wesleyan-Pentecostal G. F. Taylor admonished readers that it might be possible to have faith to withstand the plague according to Psalm 91.10, but, if the plague did come, it was no indication that one’s faith had failed. The plague may be an indication that one was indeed trusting God as did Job.⁶⁶ King concurred. Though he testified that he had been given assurance by God that he would not succumb to the illness, he writes, “Holy people have sickness. It may be they do not enter fully into their privileges in Christ. However, it is wise to conclude that God may allow those that abide in Christ to be sorely tested through sickness, even those who are said to be most holy.”⁶⁷

Tomlinson writes that Mrs. Tomlinson, while ministering to those sick with the virus, was “wonderfully preserved and sustained by the grace of God so she has never taken it, unles [sic] one evening when she felt very badly, but the saints gathered around her and prayed and she was instantly delivered.”⁶⁸ S. D. Page of the Pentecostal Holiness Church claimed that the

⁶⁴ *COGE*, 10.2 (January 11, 1919), p. 1.

⁶⁵ *PHA*, 2.33-34 (19-26 December 1918), p. 16.

⁶⁶ *PHA*, 2.33-34 (19 October 1918), p. 16. See 2.38 (16 January 1919), p. 13 for testimony of J. B. Horton whose family was able to resist the illness.

⁶⁷ *PHA*, 2.33-34 (19-26 December 1918), p. 6.

⁶⁸ *COGE*, 12.1 (January 4, 1919), p. 2.

Pentecostals in Falcon, North Carolina survived the flu at a higher rate than others. He reported that only one of the Pentecostal Holiness people in that area died, though many were stricken.⁶⁹

The epidemic was for Tomlinson, a time of testing for the saints. He admonished readers to “hold themselves in readiness similar to the way the children of Israel did when they were waiting for the command to leave Egypt.” He further encouraged them that “When the Lord’s ‘judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness’ (Isa. 26:9).” This was the time to preach holiness, to “hold up the standard” and to expect a harvest.⁷⁰ And if one was afflicted, he encouraged readers to “hold steady now in this testing time. Nestle close to God and shelter under His wings by faith. Read the 91st Psalm and pray earnestly.”⁷¹ A poem, selected by Mattie Lemons, and published on the front page of the 11 January 1919 issue, alongside Tomlinson’s warning about the last days said:

So He sends you the blinding darkness,
And the furnance [sic] of seven-fold heat;
‘Tis the only way, believe me,
To keep you close to His feet,
For ‘tis always so easy to wander,
When our lives are glad and sweet.⁷²

This last days plague and judgment, a furnace sent from God, was used by God to keep the Pentecostal in the service of the Master.

The church became an even more pronounced healing community during this grim period in its history. Tomlinson writes, “During the time the Influenza epidemic has been raging our home has been a veritable hospital excepting the use of medicine, having cared for twelve or more cases....Out of the twelve or more cases only one had to be taken away in a casket.”⁷³ That one was Sister Bonnie Terrell, a student at the Bible school and a minister. Tomlinson wrote, “...we feel it an honor to have one go from our humble home direct to heaven.”⁷⁴

Both *The Church of God Evangel* and *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* are replete with reports of healings from the flu. If the readers and

⁶⁹ PHA, 4.4 (27 May 1920), p. 4.

⁷⁰ COGE, 10.2 (January 11, 1919), p. 1.

⁷¹ COGE, 9.42 (October 19, 1918), p. 2.

⁷² “We Walk by Faith” reprinted in COGE, 10.2 (January 11, 1919), p. 1.

⁷³ COGE, 12.1 (January 4, 1919), p. 2.

⁷⁴ COGE, 12.1 (January 4, 1919), p. 2.

their families survived the illness, there was no doubt that God had brought them through. Most of these added that they trusted God and never took medicine during the illness, thereby passing the test.⁷⁵

Particularly poignant are the obituaries published during this time. The March 20, 1919 *Advocate* contained two obituaries for a Conference Superintendent of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, Rev. P. Z. McKenzie. Only 35 years of age at the time of his death, McKenzie's obituary is typical of those who succumbed to the virus: "He contracted influenza followed by pneumonia and hemorrhage of the lungs. He only lived one week during his illness, being conscious until death." The obituary also reports that his 10 year old daughter died within 48 hours of his death.⁷⁶ *Church of God Evangel* readers were shocked in November 1918 to learn of the sudden death of L. Howard Juillerat, a minister and frequent contributor to *The Evangel*.

The lengthy descriptions of the deaths of these two leaders reveal the outlook that Holiness-Pentecostals had toward death. In McKenzie's final moments he is reported to have "admonished his dear wife and children to keep true to the Lord, that it will not be long until Jesus will come after us; sounding a note of warning to his dear children to shun bad company." He was said to have been faithful over a few things and would be made ruler over many and to have fought a good fight and finished the course.⁷⁷ Juillerat's obituary stated: "The Church of God has sustained a great loss. In the army of the Lord a mighty man has fallen, but a conquering hero in death."⁷⁸ Death was something that one could face with victory. Page wrote, in reflecting on the epidemic, "...if we do die in God's hands, all is well."⁷⁹

The Finished Work branch of the tradition, faced the epidemic with a decidedly different stance. Readers of *The Christian Evangel* were encouraged that "The saint has his 'land of Goshen' in the 20th century, 'the secret place of the Most High, under the shadow of the Almighty.'" The promise to the saint (and readers of *The Christian Evangel*) was that there would "no evil befall him, nor any plague come nigh his dwelling" and that

⁷⁵ See *PHA*, 2.33-34 (19-26 December 1918), p. 10; 2.36-37 (2-9 January 1919), p. 10; *COGE*, 9.46 (November 9, 1918), p. 2.

⁷⁶ *PHA*, 2.47 (20 March 1919), pp. 4, 5. Kolata's research has uncovered numerous doctor's reports which describe the illness as beginning with "flu-like" symptoms but quickly developing into pneumonia. Some died within hours after the first symptoms appeared. Others lived only four or five days (Kolata, pp. 3-33).

⁷⁷ *PHA*, 2.47 (20 March 1919), pp. 4-6.

⁷⁸ *COGE*, 9.46 (November 9, 1918), p. 2.

⁷⁹ *PHA*, 4.4 (27 May 1920), p. 4.

they would not be afraid.⁸⁰ To illustrate this principle, Mrs. E. N. Bell wrote,

He has delivered me from Influenza when from fifteen to eighteen were dying every day here in Springfield in October. In the first place He did not let me fear. I made no effort to keep out of the way of it. One night I went to bed feeling very ill, cold chills, shooting pains all through me. I still did not fear, asked no one to pray and hardly prayed myself, but simply threw myself entirely on my Lord. About two o'clock the battle began. The precious Spirit Himself interceded for me for about an hour. When it was over I slept like a babe till time to get up, and felt as well as ever in my life. O the goodness of the Lord!⁸¹

G. T. Haywood, a leader among Oneness Pentecostals reflected on the flu epidemic in a sermon entitled "The Hiding Place From the Wind." He remembers the deaths of thousands but encouraged listeners, "But God said, 'I will deliver you in the hour of temptation.'--Rev. 3:10. The man that knows the Name of Jesus Christ is safe." He concludes that those who died of the "influenza plague" did so because of fear.⁸²

A few testimonies in *The Christian Evangel* during the latter part of 1918 and early 1919 indicate that some readers were overtaken with the illness, but only healings are reported. The cover of the 28 December issue contains two such testimonies, both proclaiming victory:

Evang. A. Lankin came to this city [Winnipeg, Canada] in the time of need when hundreds were dying of that awful plague of Influenza. He and his workers have gone fearlessly into many homes, sheltered under the precious atoning blood of Jesus, prayed the prayer of faith according to James 5:14, and put faith into practice. Not one died where the prayer of faith has been prayed.

Wife and I with a good many of our people had the Spanish Influenza but the Lord has delivered us all, not one having died. Over 2000 perished in this city alone. [San Francisco]⁸³

What *The Christian Evangel* did publish during this period were articles exhorting one how to resist illness including "The Prominence Due the Blood" promising protection from the destroyer to those under the blood;⁸⁴ "How to Receive Divine Healing" instructing the reader to recognize "the

⁸⁰ *CE*, (19 October 1918), p. 4.

⁸¹ *CE*, (22 March 1919), p. 6.

⁸² Paul D. Dugas, ed., *The Life and Writings of Elder G. T. Haywood*, p. 63.

⁸³ *CE*, (28 December 1918), p. 1.

⁸⁴ *CE*, (11 January 1919), pp. 6-7.

Divine Life principle;”⁸⁵ and “Hints Regarding Divine Healing” which admonished the reader “Never talk over your ailments with others....Don’t talk to everybody about aches and pains, but tell them to the Lord...School yourselves to act health.”⁸⁶

B. Theological Reflection on the Case Study

It is apparent from the previous study that the two prominent streams of Pentecostalism understood disease, healing and death in decidedly different ways. Interestingly, the flu epidemic of 1918, the most deadly flu outbreak in history, occurred during the time period which this study has examined. As would be expected, based on the previous theological analysis and construction, two different approaches may be observed.

1. The Wesleyan-Pentecostal Stream and the 1918 Flu Epidemic

a. Origins of The Epidemic

Because these Pentecostals understood themselves to be living in the Last Days, indeed in “The Last Great Conflict,” the outbreak of influenza in the midst of a war which, for the first time had involved all of the major world powers, seemed to be an obvious sign of the judgment of God being poured out. The source of this illness was clearly God, as a result of his vengeance upon sin. While the major writers were sure it was a judgment of God, they were in some disagreement about whether or not this judgment had specific mention in The Apocalypse. Apparently, the interpretation was dependent upon whether or not the writer was being guided in his thinking by dispensational theology.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, this sickness was God’s punishment on the sinful nations of the world. However, the individuals who became ill, were apparently not necessarily being judged, but were only facing an extreme test. Taylor indicated that though the nations were being judged as individuals are judged, individuals should not see the illness in a person as having been brought on by lack of faith. King maintained that “holy people” could become ill. For Tomlinson, as well as for Taylor, the

⁸⁵ CE, (8 February 1919), pp. 2-3.

⁸⁶ CE, (22 February 1919), p. 6.

⁸⁷ Though Taylor was already thoroughly dispensational in his eschatology, it is evident that Tomlinson had not bought into that schema at this time.

illness should be understood as a time of testing for the saints, for their edification. Therefore, God could use his judgment for the spiritual good of the Pentecostal saints. It was to be seen as a time of potential harvest.

b. Remedy

First was possible that God could protect the individual from succumbing to the illness. God could “shelter” the Pentecostal believer from the affliction.

Secondly, God could heal the person who had contracted the illness. The person could experience a healing immediately upon the onset of the disease, as they were prayed for by the saints, or they could be gradually healed, or “brought through” the illness by God. Their understanding of the “way of faith” required that they walk through the test with God, and as they came out on the other side, they would declare that God had, indeed, brought them through. The illness was so deadly, that anyone who survived was understandably viewed as having passed the test and healed. This is consistent with their view that healings did not have to be instantaneous to be classified as a healing miracle.

c. The Healing Community

The church, more than ever, became a healing community. Not only did they pray for the sick, but the homes of the Pentecostal saints became infirmaries, reminiscent of the nineteenth century healing homes. Here the sick received physical, emotional and spiritual care. Pentecostals became caregivers, going into the quarantined homes, providing the needed services as well as offering prayer for the sick. Because this group believed that the Pentecostals would not be exempt from this horrible test, it stood to reason that they would need to provide care for the tested. During this period of extreme testing, the church and ministry carried out its healing vocation in most obvious ways, which reflected its belief that the church was a missionary fellowship.

d. Death

Though many were reported to have escaped death, and to have been healed of the flu, many were reported to have died. The periodicals

publish many obituaries which detail the death of the flu victims, as well as the responses of those in the faith community surrounding them. These were always understood to have *died in the faith*. They had stood through the test and were taken *home* to be with the Lord. Actually, those who died in the faith, were hailed as “conquering heroes.” The death was not viewed as a defeat, but as ultimate healing.

Conclusion--

The theology and practices with regard to healing which are represented in these publications is consistent with other findings. This epidemic, like all sickness and disease, was the result of sin, though the immediate cause was the judgment of God. Though there is no real reflection on the atonement or the role of the Holy Spirit in healing, there is much said about *faithfulness*. Healing, and even protection, could be obtained. If one remained faithful, and came through the illness without dying, they, too, were understood to have been brought through or healed by God. The church was a place where one could find healing and care. If a saint died from the flu, he/she had passed the test and had won the victory.

2. The Finished Work Stream and the 1918 Flu Epidemic

a. Origins of the Epidemic

Like their counterparts in the Wesleyan-Pentecostal stream, the writers of the Finished Work material which was reviewed understood that this epidemic was a plague. Specifically, it was referred to as “beginning of sorrows,” referring to Jesus’ warnings in Mt. 24.8. This epidemic was a pestilence, which had been prophesied by Jesus. Using biblical terminology, the epidemic was always referred to as a plague, possibly indicating that they too considered it to be a judgment of God.

b. The Remedy

Continuing with the biblical analogy, the editors and writers promised protection from this “destroyer” to those who were “under the blood.” The atoning blood of Jesus provided immunization from the plague. Shelter from this “wind” (Haywood’s analogy), was provided by Jesus, and in Haywood’s

interpretation, by the Name of Jesus.

c. Means of Obtaining Protection or Healing

By faith one could be spared this plague. By recognizing that Divine Life and Health were already theirs, the believers simply had to resist all symptoms, never speak of them to another, and rest in the work already completed. One should *act* out his/her faith.

The opposite of this kind of faith was apparently fear. Therefore, one should not fear, as that could bring on the illness or death.

Though few actual accounts of anyone being ill with the flu are printed, it is implied that those caring for the sick prayed the prayer of faith and there were healings or at least people did not die from the illness.

d. The Healing Community

Apparently, the Finished Work Pentecostals also saw it as their imperative to care for those who were sick, offering prayer for the sick as well. At least one account shows that evangelists went from house to house, praying for the prayer of faith for those who were sick. Thus, healing was demonstrated to be a part of the Pentecostal ministry.

e. Death

Because *The Christian Evangel* did not publish obituaries, there is no way to determine how specific deaths from the epidemic were viewed. The only evidence is found in the sermon by Haywood and the testimonies from 28 December 1918. These indicate that death was apparently understood to be a sign of a lack of faith or the result of fear.

Conclusion--

An examination of the materials which appear in Finished Work literature with regard to the Influenza epidemic reveals that the theology and practice of healing in these communities during this time was consistent with other findings. Based on the Finished Work of Calvary, the believer could resist the plague and by faith be in health. Even as one ministered healing to others, one could claim the protection afforded by the atonement and the Name of Jesus. If one did experience symptoms, that one should act in faith,

denying the symptoms and rest on the Lord. Death from the flu was a result of fear and a lack of faith.

Summary

A comparison/contrast of the theological responses and reflections made by Pentecostals in each stream of the movement reveals that while there is unity in interpreting the epidemic as a plague of judgment sent by God, there were significant differences in viewpoint and approach.

While Wesleyan-Pentecostals held that one could be protected or healed from the plague, they did not assume it. Further, they saw the death of the Pentecostal flu victim, who had kept the faith, as an ultimate healing.

Finished Work Pentecostals believed that those who became sick or who died, did so because of a weakness or lack of faith. If one denied the symptoms and acted faith, then one would be protected or healed.

Both streams saw the ministry of care and healing in the community to be vital during this crisis.

Chapter 5 - Conclusions

I. Summary

At the end of this study, after an analysis of the periodical literature from Pentecostal groups published between the years of 1906 and 1923, and after a construction of the theologies of healing and practice represented therein, it seems appropriate to summarize the findings.

This study has been able to make several contributions to the field of Holiness-Pentecostal studies. Following a brief survey of the scholarship on Holiness-Pentecostal history and its theological development with regard to healing, a detailed theological analysis of the nineteenth century healing movement has been offered. Previous studies, such as those by Chappell and Cunningham, have examined the historical development of the movement and its place in nineteenth century American church history. The theological analysis offered here includes an analysis of the hermeneutics of the movement. Further, this research has traced the theological development of the doctrine of divine healing as provided in the atonement and its place in the Wesleyan-Holiness soteriology of the nineteenth century. What has emerged is a more positive understanding of the continuity/discontinuity of this healing theology with its Wesleyan roots. The study also offers the first comprehensive theological treatment of the healing home.

Moreover, the study has produced the most comprehensive theological analysis of a major theme as it is documented in the periodical literature of the North American Pentecostal movement from its inception in 1906 until ca. 1923. All extant documents from six major periodicals have been examined with a view toward healing theology and practice. In so doing, the research has provided the most comprehensive treatment of healing theology and practice within early North American Pentecostalism to date.

As a corollary this study has produced an examination of Pentecostalism as it was represented in at least three geographic regions of the United States. One result of such an approach is that it avoids the danger of assuming the tradition is a monolithic whole, revealing the continuity and discontinuity present in the tradition. As an example, one of the interesting findings is the theological continuity between the Azusa Street movement and Pentecostalism as found in the Southeastern United States, where a

Wesleyan soteriology remained dominant after 1910. Conversely, the theological discontinuity between the Azusa Street movement and the later Finished Work Pentecostal stream is noteworthy.

In keeping with the significance of the African-American contribution to Pentecostal spirituality, this study has been deliberate in the inclusion of African-American sources, such as periodicals, sermons and tracts. As a result, this investigation offers one of the more comprehensive analyses of early North American African-American Pentecostal healing theology and practice.

One of the particular concerns of this thesis has been to give voice to the nameless and often forgotten Pentecostals which has been possible by examining the materials from the margins. The theological content of this thesis has given as much credence to the words of laity as to clergy, to women as to men, to persons of color as to those who are white.

As the material has been examined and classified, special attention has been paid both to the parts of Scripture which seem to be most significant in the thinking of the writers whose works were examined, and to the ways in which these significant texts are handled. This has made clear for the first time in studies of early Pentecostalism the place and importance of Mark 16.9-20, the 'so-called' longer ending of Mark. The investigation has shown that in every expression of Pentecostalism in the United States, this text was a definitive one. By examining the place of this text in the movement, the research has revealed some interesting hermeneutical practices, which give support to previous studies of Pentecostal hermeneutics and inform future studies. The research has revealed an unexpected awareness of the text critical problems associated with the text on the part of the early Pentecostals.

The research has also revealed a surprising lack of discussion of spiritual gifts, especially the gift of healing in early Pentecostal discourse. In light of more recent discussions in the world-wide church, especially those which have surfaced since the onset of the Charismatic and Third Wave Movements, this is an unexpected finding.

In addition, this examination has been able to correct a widespread misapprehension about Pentecostals who are far from the non-sacramental Christians they are sometimes assumed to be. Laying on of hands, anointing with oil, anointed handkerchiefs and even the ceremonial giving a cup of cold

water in the name of the Lord have all emerged as important and regular practices within the movement.

This investigation has shed light on the attitudes regarding the ministry of women, as well as the ministry of laity in the Pentecostal church.

Significantly, it has been demonstrated that Finished Work Pentecostal theology was not original with William Durham. Carrie Judd Montgomery clearly had discussed the Finished Work as early as 1882, probably being informed by Phoebe Palmer. Montgomery's application of this to Pentecostal theology, with regard to both Spirit baptism and healing, predates Durham by two years.

Some incidental discoveries which clarify attitudes and theological positions have also been made as a result of the findings of the study.

Though there is little diversity of thought with regard to the use of medicine and doctors, several interesting discussions emerge. Tomlinson, and others, offer what might be called a "Marxist critique" of the medical community: doctors become rich owing to the suffering of others.¹

Additionally, the discussions of medicine as "poison" predate that of the Medical community and the government legislation of opiates in patent medicines by more than ten years.² Similarly, the Pentecostal community had banned tobacco, labeling it as addictive and unhealthy as early as 1906.³

Apparently, the Church of God stood alone in its interpretation of the Mark 16 text with regard to serpent-handling. Though the practice would later be prevalent among some Appalachian independent congregations, especially those embracing a Oneness christology, the practice was clearly endorsed and even championed by A. J. Tomlinson and others in the Church of God. There is no evidence of its practice within the other denominations or groups examined.

Though the Church of God and Church of God in Christ arose in what is perceived to be relative isolation from each other and from other groups in the tradition, there are amazing similarities in the theology and practices of the

¹ See Ch. 3, Part 2.III.F.

² Federal legislation regarding the use of opiates and narcotics was not enacted until 1922. The Federal Narcotics Board was established by a bill signed on 27 May 1922.

(http://www.druglibrary.org/schaffer/History/e190/narcotic_bill_is_signed_.htm). On November 9, 1924, *The New York Times* reported that there were one million Americans who were addicted to narcotics in 1924.

(<http://www.drublibrary.org/schaffer/History/e1920/nyt110924.htm>)

³ See Conn, *Like A Mighty Army*, p.78.

two groups. Indeed, one observes a similar ethos in the writings. The constituents of both groups were relatively poor and uneducated, probably more so than those of other groups. This observation may have implications for further investigations into the origins of the movement's spirituality.

A rather surprising finding emerges from a reading of early Finished Work Pentecostal literature, where the prevalence of what has more recently been understood as the language of the Word of Faith or Health and Wealth Movement is widespread.

It is interesting how well Oneness healing theology and practice fits within the broader Finished Work stream. This is especially surprising, given the polemical context of the "New Issue" and given the theological creativity which seems to be present from the beginning in the Oneness literature.

Given the contemporary caricatures of Pentecostal ministers, it is significant that the itinerant healing evangelist does not emerge within the tradition for a number of years, and is apparently altogether absent from the Wesleyan-Pentecostal stream for at least the first seventeen years.⁴

Oddly enough, there appears to be very little interest in the verification of healing miracles from the medical profession or those outside the community. The testimony of the person healed and those in the community was sufficient. This has significance for discussions of the Pentecostal worldview. For Wesleyan-Pentecostals, at least, the issue of faithfulness is more important than outside verification; in addition, it must be noted that all recoveries, whether instantaneous or gradual, were understood to be the result of God's healing touch.

It is also amazing to find that there is little or no discussion of healing in the Name of Jesus in the earliest Oneness material.

These findings give rise to a number of questions which might form the basis of future research.

If the alteration in the soteriological foundations of the Pentecostal movement has produced a paradigm shift as exhibited in the healing models, what might the implications of this shift be for understandings of Spirit baptism? What, if any, are the connections of the somewhat over-realized eschatology of early Finished Work theology and its adherence to dispensational eschatology schemes?

⁴ In point of fact, this research challenges contention by some that Oral Roberts or any television evangelist is the "Quintessential Pentecostal."

Similarly, what is the relationship between the soteriologies represented by the two streams and the ecclesiology (which might include church polity, the ministry of women, the ministry of the laity, and ordinances or sacraments)?

These research findings reveal a surprising degree of theological acumen from several notable Pentecostals; specifically, Hattie M. Barth and J. H. King. Additionally, early Pentecostal theologians seem to exhibit an ability to think in a dialectical fashion, at least in the area of healing, holding together the tension between trusting Jesus as healer and knowing that not all will be healed.⁵ Notably, the nearly complete rethinking of biblical interpretations, exhibited in the early examples of Oneness Pentecostal theology, also serve to challenge the rather shallow characterizations of early Pentecostals which have existed heretofore. Does not all this suggest that there may be other areas worthy of investigation which would aid in the further definition of the Pentecostal theologian and in the way in which Pentecostals approach the theological task?

There seems to be much promise in the utilization of the early Pentecostal periodicals for further research in the field of Pentecostal studies. Obviously, much could be gained from a study of the treatment of other elements of the five-fold gospel by the periodicals and their contributors. But such inquiries should not be confined or limited to major Pentecostal themes. Much might be gained by simply evaluating how the periodicals functioned in the communities of faith. For instance, how were the periodicals utilized, intentionally or unintentionally, in the spiritual formation of the Pentecostal community?

Beyond the scope of this thesis is a consideration of the development of Pentecostal theologies during the course of the twentieth century. How did healing theology change in the evolution of Oneness theology? What has been the theological impact of later healing movements, such as the Latter Rain movement, the Charismatic movement and the Third Wave movement on

⁵ See Tomlinson, *The Last Great Conflict* (pp. 20, 21) where he discusses the extended illness of his wife, Mary Jane Tomlinson. Tomlinson exclaims, "The doctrine of 'healing' is true if we all die. We had better obey God and die than disobey Him and live." Also note the letter from John G. Lake, while ministering in South Africa. While he sees great miracles of healing in his meetings, his wife dies of a sudden illness. Lake writes, "...while I cannot understand His ways in permitting her to leave my side, my faith is unshaken, my confidence is in Him and I am going forward." John G. Lake, "Asleep in Jesus", *The Pentecost* (Jan.-Feb. 1909), no page number.

healing theology and practice in both streams of the movement?

Given the lack of interest in the issue of verifiability in early Pentecostalism, recent discussions which center on Pentecostalism and postmodernity, and recent research into the biblical material regarding healing and the origins of illness, what could one project as a Pentecostal model of healing for the new millennium?⁶

II. Theological Reflection

The most significant contribution of this thesis has been the discovery that the 1910 division over sanctification as a second definite work of grace and the introduction of Finished Work soteriology into Pentecostalism produced an understanding of the provision of healing quite different than the way healing had been and continued to be perceived in Wesleyan-Pentecostal soteriology. Differences in understanding of faith, the role of the Holy Spirit and even the meaning of *signs* may be attributed to this paradigm shift. In addition, the study has shown that Wesleyan-Pentecostal theology recovers a more Wesleyan soteriology [crisis-process] than was to be found in the trajectory of the Holiness-Healing movement. Given this major discovery, it is important to offer critique and then some theological reflection upon it.

This reflection attempts to offer a critique of the models as well as to suggest implications of those models for Pentecostal theology. These reflections and implications follow the trajectory of most theological study, beginning with a consideration of Trinitarian concerns, moving to pneumatological concerns, then to christological/soteriological concerns, on to ecclesiological concerns and ending with eschatological ones.

A. Trinitarian Concerns

The first set of observations revolve around the trinitarian foundations of both models. Healing models may contribute to an understanding of how the Trinity is viewed by each stream, demonstrating the contributions and/or shortcomings of each model with regard to the work of Father, Son and Spirit. By examining one aspect of these theologies in a consistent way, what

⁶ Recent research into the biblical material with regard to healing includes Michael Brown, *Israel's Divine Healer* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1995); Thomas, *The Devil, Disease and Deliverance* and John Wilkinson, *The Bible and Healing: A Medical and Theological Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1998).

emerges is a view of the Triune God which sometimes emphasizes one member of the Trinity over and against another. [Of course, this may be said of many theologies.] In point of fact, it is perhaps this issue which has the most immediate import for theological studies as a whole. Contemporary attempts at writing theology have gone to great lengths to articulate them in a more consciously trinitarian way. Notable in this regard is the work of Ralph Del Colle,⁷ Stanley Grenz,⁸ Jurgen Moltmann,⁹ Clark Pinnock,¹⁰ and Colin Gunton.¹¹ Pinnock has suggested that it is in the understanding of a relational or social trinity to which Pentecostal theology can make the most significant contribution.¹² Pinnock has issued a much-needed warning to Pentecostals to be wary of being overly informed by Reformed sources which do not hold such a relational view of God. Though the point is well-taken, this reveals that he has not taken into consideration that the Baptist branch of Pentecostalism may have at its core a theology which finds it difficult to perceive God as relational. Pinnock, in his discussion fails to recognize that the two streams of Pentecostalism evidence distinct approaches to their understanding of the roles of the persons of the Trinity, though each stream fits decidedly within orthodoxy in its trinitarian foundation.

Oddly enough, it is this concept of relationality *in* God which was challenged by the adherents of Oneness theology and which has resulted in one of the most significant divisions in the movement. Like most Western theologies, Pentecostalism runs the risk of making the role of one member of the Trinity dominant in importance and emphasis. Indeed, it was this belief that too much emphasis was being placed on the Spirit which contributed to the reactionary moves first toward the Finished Work theology and which later evolved into the unipersonal understanding of God found in Oneness theology. The result in the former case can be a hyper-Christology, which makes the role of Father and Spirit nearly incidental, or only supportive. In

⁷ Ralph Del Colle, *Christ and the Spirit: Spirit-Christology in Trinitarian Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

⁸ Stanley Grenz, *Theology for the Community of God* (Nashville, TN: Broadman and Holman, 1994).

⁹ Jurgen Moltmann, *The Spirit of Life: A Universal Affirmation* translated by M. Kohl (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992).

¹⁰ Clark Pinnock, *Flame of Love*.

¹¹ Colin Gunton, *The Promise of Trinitarian Theology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991).

¹² See Clark Pinnock, "Divine Relationality: A Pentecostal Contribution to the Doctrine of God," *JPT* 16 (April 2000), pp. 3-26.

this soteriology's emphasis on penal satisfaction, the role of the Father shifts to one of Judge at the exclusion of his relational role of Father. This Judge must be appeased in order for the merit of healing to be obtained. The Spirit becomes an *agent* of the Son, actualizing the work of the cross. In fact, it is possible to make the assumption that the Life-Giving Spirit *is* Jesus, which leads to the conclusions of Oneness theology. In this latter case, the result has been an absolute diminishing of the personhood of both Father and Spirit.¹³

Wesleyan-Pentecostal theology has the potential of recovering this relational understanding, if it stays true to its heart. Land describes this relational God as

one presence but three persons whose unity and identity consists and is given in perichoretic interrelatedness, in which each person fully participates in the life of the others. The unity is in the community, but the distinctiveness is seen in the appropriation of certain works to each, though all by virtue of their coinherence are involved in each work. Thus, the work of creation is sovereignly appropriated to the Father; the work of reconciliation to the Son; and the work of sustaining and unification unto glory to the Spirit.¹⁴

This relatedness is mirrored in the way that God relates to humanity. Salvation is participation in what Land calls "the divine life of historical mission." This requires a salvation which deals with more than status, it requires one which is transformational. Land writes, "Because God is triune eschatological presence in history, and because humans are made for love and fellowship with God and each other, what God has done *for us* in Christ he accomplishes *in us* through Christ in the Spirit."¹⁵ The Wesleyan-Pentecostal healing model is informative and illustrative here, because it views healing as provided in the atoning work of the Son, as participation in the resurrection and as a sign of the Spirit's inbreaking. The work of the Triune God is fully in view here: Because of the reconciling work of the Son, the Spirit moves the believer toward a restoration of the Father's Creation. Further, it focuses the understanding of faith away from a formula and toward

¹³ For exposition of contemporary Oneness christology see David Bernard, "Oneness Pentecostalism", *DPCM* and *Essentials of Oneness Theology* (Hazelwood, MO: Word Aflame Publications, 1986).

¹⁴ Steven J. Land, "The Triune Center: Wesleyans and Pentecostals Together in Mission", p. 88.

¹⁵ Land, "The Triune Center," p. 94.

faithfulness to the way.

B. Pneumatological Concerns

There are, then, significant differences in the pneumatology of the Wesleyan-Pentecostals and the Finished Work Pentecostals. For Wesleyan-Pentecostals, the Spirit, like Wesley's concept of grace/power, is perpetually given and responded to. The Spirit leads the believer toward the end. As the Spirit is given and responded to, the believer is transformed. In Finished Work Pentecostal pneumatology, the implications are that the Spirit actualizes the work already accomplished by Christ. Therefore, the Spirit's role is subordinate to that of the Son, as the Spirit only carries out the bidding of the Son. There is little or no emphasis upon being led *forward* by the Spirit, but rather, the Spirit constantly drives the believer *backward* to the Cross event. Baptism in the Spirit is "the seal unto the day of redemption," the "seal of a finished salvation in Jesus Christ."¹⁶ Walking in the Spirit is to yield to what has already been given and accomplished. So, the Spirit furthers the realization of who one is in Christ, with whom one is identified.

In this case, the immanence of the Spirit, as *already* having given resurrection life, may mask the transcendence of the Triune God, who breaks in from the Kingdom which is to come. It is this same kind of over-emphasis on immanence of the Spirit which has led Pentecostals such as Frank Macchia and Peter Kuzmic, and charismatic scholar Mark Stibbe to question Moltmann's pneumatology.¹⁷ These Pentecostals see, in Moltmann, too much emphasis on the God who is "near" [already], at the expense of the God who is "far-away" [not yet], and failure to do justice to the mystery of God.¹⁸ Macchia describes this transcendence:

The dominant emphasis of Pentecostals is not on the Spirit *of life*, as with Moltmann, but on the Spirit as an omnipotent and strange mystery that breaks in miraculously with the sound of a violent wind. This experience brings our everyday lives to a screeching halt, calling them radically into question and transforming them in ways that are

¹⁶Durham, "The Two Great Experiences or Gifts," *PT*, 1.8 (1911), p. 6.

¹⁷ See Frank D. Macchia, "A North American Response;" Peter Kuzmic, "A Croatian War-Time Reading;" and Mark W. G. Stibbe, "A British Appraisal" in "A Global Pentecostal Dialogue with Jurgen Moltmann's *The Spirit of Life: A Universal Affirmation*", *JPT* 4 (April 1994), pp. 5-33. See also Jurgen Moltmann, "A Response to my Pentecostal Dialogue Partners," *JPT* 4 (April 1994), pp. 59-70 and Frank D. Macchia, "The Spirit and Life: A Further Response to Jurgen Moltmann," *JPT* 5 (October 1994), pp. 121-127.

¹⁸ Stibbe, p. 12.

sure to seem strange to the world....The continual 'coming' or 'falling' of the Spirit 'over against' this world (in a sense, against us also) to empower us for praise and service is an important emphasis for a Pentecostal pneumatology that defends the eschatological freedom of the Spirit and preserves a sharp prophetic criticism of the status quo.¹⁹

As Pentecostals, they have challenged Moltmann's concept of the Holy Spirit as immanent at the expense of his transcendence. This same danger may be found in the Finished Work theology which sees the Spirit's bringing full resurrection life *now* to the believer, as a result of a finished work. The dilemma becomes one of, for what does one pray if the healing work, indeed, health, is already present.

One of the most surprising discoveries of this study has been the preponderance of the commissioning text found in what is now called the longer ending of Mark (16.18-20). The text which was almost completely absent from the nineteenth century healing movement's theological reflection, becomes a hermeneutical key to understanding Pentecostalism's experience.²⁰ It became a kind of litmus test for Pentecostal church services. These Pentecostals were not unaware of the text critical problems and respond to these problems in a variety of ways, but all came to the conclusion that the text is reliable, primarily because it mirrors their experience. What differs between the two models is how the *signs* were interpreted. Are these signs of the inbreaking Kingdom or are they signs of a work already finished? Consistently the two groups saw the signs as pointing to two different directions. For the Wesleyan camp, the signs were the inbreaking of the Kingdom to come; for the Finished Work camp, they pointed backward to the cross.

C. Christological/Soteriological Concerns

This study suggests that the atonement model(s) were appropriated

¹⁹ Macchia, "The Spirit and Life," p. 122.

²⁰ It is likely that the text was overlooked by the nineteenth century healing movement because they were not experiencing the other phenomena listed, i.e.-speaking in tongues. In addition, a noted Holiness commentator, W. B. Godbey, had not considered the text in his commentary on Mark because he followed the text found in *Codex Sinaiticus*. See Ch. 3, Part 2.I.E. and W. B. Godbey, *Commentary on the New Testament, Vol. III* (Cincinnati, OH: God's Revivalist Office, 1900), p. 497.

and went largely unexamined in light of Pentecostal experience.²¹ The study has not examined how these interpretations of the models may have been altered in the era since this early period. However, in keeping with Hollenweger's contention that these years represent the *heart* and not the infancy of the movement, this examination does allow one to view the movement in its essence. And, the study shows, that even at its heart, there were inherent inconsistencies, which would quickly become problematic. While Pentecostals have certainly been shaped and influenced by traditions which have come before and with which they find dialogue, because Pentecostal theology and spirituality is difficult to categorize, simply adapting wholesale the theological models of other streams of Christianity rarely proves to be satisfactory or consistent. As Land has demonstrated, "Pentecostalism flows in paradoxical continuity and discontinuity with other streams of Christianity."²² Where models of the atonement are concerned, it is unsatisfactory for Pentecostals to adapt a model which denigrates the roles of any member of the trinity, or which focuses solely on one aspect of the work of Christ at the expense of the Incarnation or Resurrection. Indeed, in view of the diversity of Scripture, and the varieties of models utilized therein, it would seem that too heavy a reliance on any one model is problematic. Further, it should always be noted that a metaphor is only a literary device and should never be pressed beyond its intended limit.

The issue of healing provided for all in the atonement has recently been examined by a Pentecostal scholar in the Finished Work stream of the tradition. David Petts has argued that healing is not provided in the atonement, but is "ultimately" and "indirectly in the atonement."²³ This conclusion was apparently reached in an effort to divest Pentecostal theology from aberrant theologies, such as those proposed by Hagin and Copeland,

²¹ See Robert P. Menzies, "Healing in the Atonement", in Robert P. Menzies and William W. Menzies, *Spirit and Power: Foundations of Pentecostal Experience* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2000), pp. 159-170. Menzies, too, sees the limitations of the forensic model of the atonement with regard to a fully developed theology of healing.

²² Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, p. 29.

²³ These are Petts' "proposed modifications" to the doctrine. David Petts, "Healing and the Atonement," *EPTA Bulletin* XII (1993), pp. 34, 35.

those known as proponents of the Health and Wealth Gospel.²⁴ Petts makes this claim based on an exegesis of Matthew 8.17 and 1 Peter 2.24. His exegesis and interpretation are preconditioned by his primarily juridical view of the atonement. Quoting Stott, Petts maintains, “that to talk of healing being in the atonement is to ‘mix categories’ for ‘atonement’ by definition deals with sin.” However, he does not want to limit his interpretation of atonement to one of reconciliation alone, but includes redemption, victory and substitution. But even with this expanded view of atonement, which incorporates other metaphors, he still maintains that there is no direct connection between healing and atonement. These metaphors deal with release from the bondage of sin, conquering the powers of darkness and the vicarious suffering of Jesus.²⁵ For Petts, sin is primarily *offense* and is not inclusive of the effects of sin, such as sickness or disease.²⁶ Petts reveals this narrow understanding of atonement, one which does not seem to incorporate any importance of Jesus’ obedient life, in his exegesis of Matthew 8.17. He concludes that the immediate context of the verse cannot refer to the cross event because the incident recorded occurs “long before Jesus’ passion” and “there is no suggestion Matthew is using the quote in connection with Christ’s redemptive work.” Instead, he believes that Matthew understands the Isaiah 53 description of the suffering servant as fulfilled in “Jesus’ healing ministry in Galilee” and not in his passion.²⁷ The danger here is that he makes a move which too severely separates Jesus’ ministry and his passion. He is willing to

²⁴ See Henry H. Knight, III, “God’s Faithfulness and God’s Freedom: A Comparison of Contemporary Theologies of Healing,” *JPT* 2 (April 1993), pp. 65-89 for expositions of Hagin and Copeland’s healing theologies. See also Thomas Smail, Andrew Walker and Nigel Wright, “‘Revelation Knowledge’ and Knowledge of Revelation: The Faith Movement and the Question of Heresy,” *JPT* 5 (October 1995), pp. 57-77. The theologies of Copeland, Hagin and others, have been variously designated as the Health and Wealth Gospel, Faith Formula Theology or Word of Faith Theology. See, in addition, B. Barron, *The Health and Wealth Gospel* (Downer’s Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 1987); C. Farah, *From the Pinnacle of the Temple: Faith versus Presumption* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos, n.d.); and D. R. McConnell, *Another Gospel* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988).

²⁵ In his exposition of 1 Peter 2.24, Petts very adamantly concludes that Jesus did not vicariously suffer from sickness, therefore his atoning death did not deal with sickness (“Healing in the Atonement”, pp. 29-32).

²⁶ Petts, “Healing in the Atonement”, p. 34. Contra John Christopher Thomas, *The Devil, Disease and Deliverance: Origins of Illness in New Testament Thought* JPTS 13 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998). Thomas argues, “Perhaps a more Matthean way of understanding the text is to see it as an anticipation of the passion, which is the basis of all that Jesus accomplishes. That Matthew considers such activity to be part of Jesus’ atoning work seems to be the best reading of the Matthean text” (pp. 173-174).

²⁷ Petts, “Healing in the Atonement”, p. 28.

link healing to Jesus' "kingly authority" but not to his crucifixion.²⁸ The problem with this interpretation is that it fails to see the dynamic connectedness between crucifixion and Kingdom; Jesus, as crucified, is reigning King.

Petts maintains that healing is part of "ultimate redemption" but not "present redemption." However, this view dichotomizes the Christian life, failing to see that present redemption and ultimate redemption are integrally linked. One participates *now* via the Spirit in that which is to come, though *not yet* enjoying full redemption. Further, Petts maintains healing's indirect link to atonement via the Spirit, because, according to Paul in 1 Corinthians 12.9, it is the Spirit who grants gifts of healing and Petts allows that the Spirit has been given because of atonement. He continues by proposing that the doctrine of healing should be modified relating the doctrine to the Spirit, rather than to atonement.²⁹ But it seems that by his own admission, the giving of the Spirit is directly linked to atonement. Again, there is a lack of integration in this theology, and it falls too easily into the trap of compartmentalization.

Petts is apparently reacting to what is inherent in Finished Work soteriology and its trajectory. However, his solutions do not serve to solve the problem. They, too, come out of his own adherence to the established soteriology. What is called for is not a rejection of the doctrinal tenet, but rather a theology which has a fuller view of sin, and a fuller and more integrated view of the work of Christ and of the Spirit.

A better solution is offered by Robert Menzies who proposes that to "do justice to the full breadth of the biblical witness, we must broaden our view and ask: What is the full significance of Christ's death on the cross?"³⁰ Menzies attempts to answer this question by examining three propositions: (1) "Jesus is Lord and Savior by virtue of his work on the cross (Rev. 5:9)"; (2) "The salvation provided by Jesus as Lord and Savior is progressive in nature (2 Cor. 3:18)"; and (3) "The salvation provided by Jesus as Lord and Savior is cosmic in nature and includes physical wholeness (Rom. 8:23; 1 Cor. 15:42-54)."³¹ Menzies' reflection on Is. 53 and Mt. 8 concludes that Matthew sees Jesus' messianic mission as culminating in the cross. Further, this is connected to the disciples' commission (Mt. 10.1 - 11.1), which is a

²⁸ Petts, "Healing in the Atonement", pp. 28, 29.

²⁹ Petts, "Healing in the Atonement", p. 35.

³⁰ Menzies, p. 162.

³¹ Menzies, pp. 162-166.

continuation of the messianic mission.³² Menzies, also from the Finished Work Pentecostal tradition, seems to have found a better way of embracing the doctrine and being true to the biblical witness. He also seems to grapple with some of the inherent problems in the Finished Work theology. However, Menzies offers no discussion of the role of the Spirit in healing, nor in the continuing mission of the Kingdom. By seeing the mission as “culminating” at the cross, it seems that Menzies stops short of proposing a comprehensive Pentecostal doctrine of divine healing.

Another soteriological concern which emerges is the observation that a loss of Wesley’s doctrine of assurance has had a tremendously negative impact on Pentecostalism. While it is true that Palmer’s shorter way made sanctification, and other experiences attainable and accessible, it nevertheless short-circuited the pattern of sanctification as crisis-process, as found in Wesley. Wesley had insisted that one could have assurance of experience, an inward perception of the Spirit’s work in his/her life. Palmer replaced this notion with a faith claim. This was quickly imported into healing theologies of the nineteenth century. Acting on faith and testifying that the blessing had been received without assurance led to the “name it and claim it” assumption of the Health and Wealth Gospel.³³ Because waiting on assurance, before offering testimony of experience, is seen as doubt or unbelief, what has evolved is a theology which mandates denial of symptoms and claims of healing which are false.

The assumption that one can have full resurrection life, or ‘Jesus’ life’, now is based on a presupposition that the material body, or the mortal body, is the enemy of spirituality. This confusion of the enemy, which Paul labels the *flesh*, with the *body* has been a problem in soteriologies for centuries and is a gnostic tendency. By claiming that sanctification is primarily a status, and that no inward sin problem remains, Finished Work theology opens itself up to the inevitable conclusion that the temptations which are faced, or limitations which are experienced, are the result of mortality, making the material body

³² Menzies, pp. 166-167.

³³ “Name it and claim it” is the sort of formula which has characterized the Health and Wealth Gospel. One simply *names* the gift or blessing needed (or wanted in extreme versions) and *claims* it done.

the obvious enemy which is to be overcome or denied.³⁴

What is gained from an examination of both theologies is the importance of the sacramental practices which revolve around healing, specifically laying on of hands and anointing with oil.³⁵ Though these practices have never totally disappeared from the many traditions of Christianity, there has been a denigration and even absence of them in some evangelical or fundamentalist churches, especially those which hold a cessationist view of miracles. Pentecostals, of either stream, would be hesitant to use the term *sacrament* to refer to these practices. In fact, in the skepticism inherited from some Protestant traditions, this term would rarely have been used to refer to the Lord's Supper or Baptism.³⁶ However, there was a *sacramental* aspect to the practices.

It is probable that if Pentecostals are consistent in practicing healing according to their respective soteriologies, the sacramental acts have different meanings within each context. In Wesleyan-Pentecostal circles the practices surely represent a kind of impartation or transmission of grace, though Wesleyan-Pentecostals would be hesitant to express the significance in that way.³⁷ Land explains, "The word 'sacrament' was seen as a non-biblical word of Roman Catholic derivation which was associated with mechanical ritual." However, Pentecostals understood that the Lord was "present in, with, under and through these acts."³⁸ They certainly could talk of feeling surges of power go through their body when these acts were performed. This seems to indicate that there was a realization that there had been some sort of

³⁴ See William Greathouse, *From the Apostles to Wesley: Christian Perfection in Historical Perspective* (Kansas City: Beacon Hill Press, 1979) for a brief study of understandings of Christian perfection through the centuries. Greathouse points out this repeated misinterpretation of Paul's language in Augustine, Luther, etc.

³⁵ See John Christopher Thomas, "1998 Presidential Address: Pentecostal Theology in the Twenty-first Century," *Pneuma* 20.1 (Spring 1998), pp. 18, 19 for a discussion of sacramental acts as signs for each element of the Five-fold Gospel.

³⁶ Pentecostals normally preferred the term *ordinance* in referring to baptism, the Lord's Supper and in many cases footwashing. Occasionally the term *sacrament* was used to refer to commemoration of the Lord's Supper. See *Diary of F. J. Lee: November 30, 1914-February 2, 1926* (Cleveland, TN: Church of God Publishing House, n.d.); *PHA*, 4.5 (3 June 1920), p. 5. See also W. J. Seymour, *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Azusa Street Apostolic Faith Mission of Los Angeles, Cal.* (Los Angeles: 1915), where three *sacraments* are designated: "Baptism and the Lord's Supper and Feet Washing" (p. 24).

³⁷ For Wesley's understanding of the means of grace see, among others, Ole E. Borgen, "No End Without the Means: John Wesley and the Sacraments," *The Asbury Theological Journal* 46.1 (Spring 1991), pp. 63-81 and Henry H. Knight, III, *The Presence of God in the Christian Life: John Wesley and the Means of Grace* (Lanham, MD and London: Scarecrow Press, 1992).

³⁸ Land, *Pentecostal Spirituality*, p. 117.

impartation given and received.³⁹ For Finished Work Pentecostals, these acts of obedience are signs of what has already been accomplished, in effect, remembrances in the Zwinglian sense.⁴⁰

D. Ecclesiological Concerns

Wesleyan-Pentecostals, like their antecedents in the Wesleyan Methodist and Holiness movements, tended toward a more centralized form of government and an appreciation for the accompanying accountability offered by such a governmental structure. Finished Work Pentecostals, primarily coming from Baptist backgrounds, tended toward congregational forms of government. In a related way, their respective soteriologies, and thereby healing theologies, tend, in the former toward communal reflection and practice or in the latter, toward individualistic theology and practice. Obviously, with each group, there is much overlap and respect for spiritual authority. However, obtaining healing, was discussed in each camp in decidedly different ways. In the extreme, one was either a part of a healing community, calling for the elders to anoint with oil, or one reckoned the work already done, as an act of the individual will, possibly calling for the elders out of obedience and to confirm the work already accomplished.

Related to ecclesiological concerns are the implications of this study for the ministry of women. It is from the Finished Work camp that prominent women healing evangelists emerge: Maria Woodworth-Etter, Aimee Semple McPherson and Mattie Crawford. That is not to say that women were uninvolved in the healing ministry in the Wesleyan-Pentecostal churches. Quite the contrary is true; women, at this point, fully participated in the lives of

³⁹ See *AF*, 1.9 (June-September, 1907), p. 4. The recipient of an anointed handkerchief describes a power surge in his body as the article was removed from the envelope. See also *AF*, 1.2 (October, 1906), p. 3; *PHA*, 4.40 (27 January 1921), p. 2.

⁴⁰ Note however, that Durham, in discussing the commemoration of the Lord's Supper, remarks, "After we had partaken of that which by living faith becomes unto us His Body and Blood, the Spirit seemed to take complete control, and for a long time the Heavenly Anthem poured forth like a mighty torrent of holy, Heavenly melody, until our very souls were ravished, Glory to God." Durham, "The Los Angeles Convention: A Time of Blessing, Power and Results," *PT*, 2.1 (Jan. 1912), p. 13. However, his view of baptism seems to be simply a dramatization of a spiritual reality of being dead in Christ, buried and raised. He contends that it is a picture of identification and that one should rise from the immersion and experience the coming of the Spirit upon them ("The Gospel of Christ," p. 8). See also *PT*, 1.8 (1911), p. 3 where he contends "...we come into Christ and are fully saved in conversion and that the next step is to be baptized in water, and then in the Holy Spirit..." This no doubt led to the view that Acts 2.38 was paradigmatic of conversion experience, as it was proclaimed by Oneness preachers in the following years.

these churches holding pastoral and evangelistic positions, and along with those positions came the obligatory ministry of healing. Women who itinerated in Wesleyan-Pentecostal circles often established churches along the way, many times becoming the pastors of these churches.⁴¹ These women prayed for the sick within the local churches. What pushed the women in the Finished Work camp to the place of independent itinerant ministry? Since women were not allowed to serve as a pastor at this stage of the history of the Assemblies of God but could apparently evangelize, write and preach, it would seem that those restrictions forced the emergence of what would become a ministry more characteristic of later Pentecostalism. Related to this emergence of the itinerant ministry is the question of the impact of the later healing movement of the mid-twentieth century upon Pentecostal theology and practice.⁴² This study suggests that a careful theological analysis of that movement would prove to be significant.

There are also implications for the ministry of laity. In Pentecostal churches of both streams, any believer could pray the prayer of faith and any believer could lay hands on the sick or anoint with oil. By and large, healing was not seen as a ministry or gift possessed only by certain individuals. Healing was a gift of the Spirit and the Spirit-filled community should and could pray for the sick. This egalitarian atmosphere produced Pentecostal believers who saw themselves as equipped for mission wherever it might be. Hollenweger sees this as an inheritance from African spirituality and describes it as a “form of community that is reconciliatory.”⁴³ Cox cites this egalitarianism as a liberating force which Pentecostalism may contribute to Christianity in general in the twenty-first century.⁴⁴

E. Eschatological Concerns

Wesleyan-Pentecostal theology, emphasizes that the Kingdom is inbreaking, and emphasizes a journey toward God, while acknowledging with gratitude what has already been accomplished. This enables them to hold

⁴¹ See the description of Lula Jones' work in the Church of God in Donice Oakley, “Triumphant in Trials”, *COGE*, 90.8 (August, 2000), p. 25 and in David G. Roebuck, “Women in God's Army”, *History and Heritage* (Fall, 1997), pp. 1-2. Jones planted as many as eighteen churches and served as pastor of nine of those eighteen.

⁴² See David F. Harrell, *All Things Are Possible*.

⁴³ Hollenweger, pp. 145-58.

⁴⁴ See Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven*.

together the tension between the *already* and the *not yet*. Wesleyan-Pentecostals can pray and believe for healing as a sign of the day when all will be healed or as proleptic participation in resurrection. While healing is, as are all gifts of grace, accessible, it is not presumed to be already obtained.

However, there are eschatological difficulties which emerge in the Finished Work theology. Too much emphasis on what has already been accomplished leads to what has been called an “over-realized eschatology,” where the full benefits of redemption are now available to the believer.⁴⁵ Finished Work theology, as it is represented by the Assemblies of God, seems to exhibit some inherent disparity with regard to eschatology. The Assemblies of God early on held to a dispensational eschatology, heavily informed by C. I. Scofield. As has already been noted, this produces a real inconsistency because of the cessationist views maintained by the Dispensationalists.⁴⁶ A further disparity is seen with their understanding of the end. Because many of these Pentecostals maintained that one could resist death, and would not have to face death, there is little reflection on heaven.

This thesis has been able to show that many early Pentecostals were engaging in questions of enormous importance for the Christian understanding of healing and its relationship to soteriology but clearly falling into two major streams. This research should encourage contemporary Pentecostals to revision healing theology in the light of sanctification and might serve to invite the larger Christian community to explore more fully this aspect of ministry and theology.

⁴⁵ French L. Arrington, *Paul's Aeon Theology in 1 Corinthians* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1977), p. 115, n. 6.

⁴⁶ See ch. 3, Part 3.II.A.

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